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EDITORIAL

In the passing of Professor C. Henry Smith on October 18, 1948, at the age of 73 years, the Mennonite world has lost one of its outstanding scholars. Dr. Smith, the dean of American Mennonite historians, was also an associate editor of the Mennonite Quarterly Review from its beginning in 1927 and one of its warm supporters. In this issue we present three articles occasioned by Dr. Smith's passing: (1) the tribute given at the funeral services at Bluffton, Ohio, on October 21, 1948, by Harold S. Bender; (2) a biography by Willard H. Smith, Professor of History at Goshen College, and nephew of Dr. Smith; (3) a bibliography of Dr. Smith's historical writings. A thorough review and evaluation of Dr. Smith's contribution as a Mennonite historian will appear in a later issue.

The undertaking of German Protestant Historical Scholarship in the publication of a great corpus of Anabaptist documents, which was begun a generation ago and unfortunately brought to a complete halt by World War II, is to be revived and brought to completion if the necessary financial subsidy can be secured in America. Several volumes of documents are now ready for the printer. The first of these, the Hesse *Täufer-Akten,* should be available in late 1949. As a sample of what this volume will contain the Review presents in this issue a hitherto unpublished transcript of a 1578 Swiss Brethren Confession, edited by Theodor Sippell, of Marburg, the scholar who completed the transcription of the entire volume. The publication here is with the kind permission of Dr. Edmund Stengel, Marburg, chairman of the Historische Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck.

The Review also presents in this issue a comprehensive report on the Entire *Täufer-Akten* project, as well as on the state of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* which is also to be revived and completed. In the same section descriptive reports are given of other significant enterprises in the field of Mennonite research and publication, namely the *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* the *Mennonite Research Foundation* and the two new Mennonite illustrated journals, *Mennonite Life* and the *Mennonite Community.*

Surprisingly little has been known about the background of the first Mennonite immigrants to America. Even such an outstanding personality as Jacob Gottschalk, the first bishop, and for over fifty years a leader, has remained almost an unknown. By a remarkable piece of painstaking genealogical research by Wilhelm Niepoth, of Vohrum, Kreis Peine, Germany, the ancestry of Bishop Gottschalk has been completely clarified. In this article on Gottschalk's ancestry in this issue former Rector Niepoth not only gives the results of his research but displays in a most instructive fashion his method. Rector Niepoth is prepared to undertake similar projects in genealogical research in the ancestry of other Mennonite immigrants to Pennsylvania from the Lower Rhine region.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

Vol. XXIII No. 1

C. HENRY SMITH: A TRIBUTE

Remarks offered at the funeral services at Bluffton College, October 21, 1948, by Harold S. Bender

My Friends,

We have met today to pay a last tribute of affection and respect to one who was not only a fine teacher, a noble scholar, and a gifted writer, but also a Christian gentleman and a cherished friend. Not everyone endowed with great gifts from God and possessed of a goodly heritage from a noble and godly ancestry makes of such possessions an outstanding contribution to his time, for unselfish devotion and unremitting toil must be added to the gifts to make them fruitful. But this our departed brother did in full measure. By the single-minded and full-hearted dedication of his splendid talent to one great central purpose throughout a long and full life he was able to serve his generation and his church in an exceptional way. We who have been his colleagues in the field in which he was the master, the field of Mennonite history, had hoped we might enjoy for a few more years the fruit of his lifetime of research as well as the inspiration of his comradeship, particularly in the great enterprise of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* in which he was so deeply interested and in which I personally desired so greatly his full participation as co-editor. But it was not to be so. We have had our last conference, his last counsel has been given, and the last article written. He rests from . . . his labors and his works do follow him.

To us as younger Mennonite historians he will remain a challenge to complete objectivity, to scrupulous fairness and justice, and to effective and winning presentation of insights gained. We owe to him a great debt for his pioneer and creative work, particularly in the field of American Mennonite history. He was a valiant fighter, not only for historical truth, but for the best in our Mennonite heritage, particularly our testimony for peace and nonresistance. With malice toward none, and charity toward all, he hoped for and worked toward a better understanding and eventual reunion of all our divided Mennonite brotherhood, rejoicing particularly in the contribution of the Mennonite Central Committee toward this goal.

As a historian, Dr. Smith was unquestionably the greatest of the historians produced by the Mennonites of America and the peer of any of the European Mennonite historians. With his five major works, written over a period of thirty-five years, he published more full-length historical works than any other Mennonite historian. His particular gift was that of synthesis of masses of material into well-written, interesting, integrated accounts. He was preeminently the general Mennonite historian who took the great sweep of our history in both Europe and America and put it into clear, easily read volumes that will remain standard works for years to come. In addition to his major works he wrote six briefer booklets and numerous articles for current periodicals, for the *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* and for the *Mennonite Encyclopedia.*

I am particularly happy personally for the intimate association with our departed brother which it was my privilege to enjoy during the past twenty years. I think of the many occasions on which we indulged in hours of happy historical shoptalk, of the trip to the Amsterdam World Mennonite Conference of 1936, where he delivered a noteworthy address on "Mennonites and Culture," and the subsequent visit to Dr. Christian Neff, Weierhof, and of the long-continued joint planning which finally bore fruit in the Mennonite Research Fellowship and the *Mennonite Encyclopedia.*

We shall sorely miss him in the great enterprises of our modern Mennonite historical scholarship as well as in the intimate fellowship of those who are deeply devoted to the cause of our world Mennonite brotherhood.

October 21, 1948 Harold S. Bender

C. HENRY SMITH, 1875-1948: A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY

WILLARD H. SMITH

"I am a thoroughbred Mennonite. For one hundred and fifty years at least, and perhaps for several hundred more beyond that my ancestors were of the Mennonite faith. . . . If my Mennonite ancestry reaches back as far as that of most of the group, then I doubt whether a single non-Mennonite could be found among all my forebears during the past four hundred years. And so, physically and spiritually, I claim to be a full blooded Mennonite."[1] Thus wrote C. Henry Smith at the age of fifty concerning his ancestry. He himself was born in the Amish Mennonite community at Metamora, Illinois, in 1875. His grandfather, Christian Smith, a native of Lorraine, France, came to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1829, and in 1833 to Illinois, settling in the new Partridge community just west of what is now Metamora. C. Henry, with three brothers and four sisters, was a son of Bishop John Smith and Magdalena Schertz Smith. The Partridge Amish church was organized in 1833, the year Christian Smith settled in the community. This was the second oldest in Woodford County and the first Amish congregation to be founded anywhere west of Ohio. It was also perhaps the first German-speaking congregation of any denomination to be established in Illinois. The founders of this congregation, which included Smith's grandfather, were thus real pioneers on this part of the midwestern frontier.

It was in this Amish Mennonite community that Smith grew to manhood. The people, however, while Amish, were the type that with time changed some of their customs and gradually pulled away from what became known as the Old Order Amish and eventually became Mennonite. Not a few of these changes were made in Smith's youth, such as the passing of hooks and eyes, the wearing of the beard, the use of the German language, and opposition to Sunday schools. C. Henry's father, a devout Christian, was one of the more progressive leaders of the group. He was one of the first Amish Mennonite leaders to speak out against smoking and drinking and to favor prohibition. This position brought him some criticism.

During the first years which C. Henry spent in the community elementary school there was no promise that he would go far in education. "A decent regard for the truth," he said, "constrains me to confess that for some years at least, I hated school and every-

[1] C. Henry Smith, *The Education of a Mennonite Country Boy*, p. 1. (Published by the author in a limited edition in mimeograph form, in 1943, Bluffton, Ohio, but written in 1925.)

thing connected with it."[2] But in his later elementary school years the story was different. There began to develop in him that thirst for knowledge which was characteristic of him through life. One man, above all others, was responsible for this start. This man was one of his country schoolteachers. "The best thing Willie Whitmire did for me was to introduce me to a new world of whose existence up to that time I had been entirely ignorant—the world of romance and adventure, that lay hidden away in the great books of the ages."[3] This experience with a great teacher was a decisive factor in Smith's life, and had a great deal to do with his desire and decision to go on in education. In his *The Education of a Mennonite Country Boy,* Smith pays a beautiful tribute to "the most inspiring teacher I ever knew, and who did more to arouse my life ambitions at a most critical time in my boyhood days than any one else I have ever known since in high school, college or university—Willy Whitmire. . . . He inspired me to launch out on a course from which I have not wavered one moment since, and for this he has my eternal gratitude."[4]

With his horizon thus enlarged by an inspiring teacher, Smith decided to go to high school. This was something unheard of in this Amish Mennonite community. The father consented to this new departure, provided C. Henry would attend only during the winter months between the fall and spring farm work, a decision made in part, no doubt, because the older brothers had not had this opportunity. Despite these handicaps, Smith, through study at home, was able to keep up with the high school class.

After attending Metamora High School two winters, 1891-93, —the course at that time extended only over two years—C. Henry decided to take the teacher's examination and teach country school. Again the father was co-operative. In fact C. Henry's father, at various times and in various ways, and at a time when it was unusual, encouraged the son in his educational and intellectual pursuits. The farm no longer appealed to C. Henry. Being on the farm but not of it, as he explains, he had found a life that appealed to him much more. Except for a few scattered summer vacations, he never came back to the farm. He appreciated his family, however, and was always happy to visit the old homestead. In later years he wrote feelingly about the tender memories and associations surrounding that home.

After teaching country school in Woodford County, Illinois, 1893-96, for three years, Smith decided to go to college. Finding

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 28. [3] *Ibid.,* p. 61. [4] *Ibid.,* p. 71.

it difficult to decide which college to attend and having no guidance he made his choice blindly. He decided upon the Illinois State Normal School at near-by Normal, Illinois, thinking that he was going to a "college." Though he spent two years (1896-98) at Normal, he was disappointed with the curriculum offered and with the lack of academic atmosphere. He felt that both were too much like that of the elementary public school. Subjects that he had studied and taught in the country elementary school were now "rehashed." Also he felt that too much emphasis was put on formalistic and rigid rules of technique which did not allow enough room for spontaneity and initiative. Since Smith was later known as an interesting and challenging teacher, it might be well to quote a paragraph which gives something of his educational philosophy:

> To my mind the function of the teacher was to guide the student to the great fields of knowledge, and suggest by example as well as through instruction, right attitudes and ideals of life. The student's interest must first be aroused, and the best teaching technique is that which engenders an abiding enthusiasm for the fields of knowledge in question. An enthusiastic teacher, thoroughly acquainted with his subjects, is still worth a hundred skillfully trained questioners, who have more method than substance, and more correct technique than enthusiasm for subject matter.[5]

Smith's second year at Normal was saddened by the death of his mother. This was the first break in the family circle, and life was never the same again for him. "There remained a vacancy that could never be filled, even though time, that great healer of every wound, might in the end gradually transmute the first pang of grief into a sweet and fragrant memory."[6]

In the fall of 1898 Smith accepted a call to teach at Elkhart Institute, Elkhart, Indiana. He had already spent one summer there as a student several years before. This marked the beginning of his pioneering in the field of Mennonite education, a task which, after the completion of his education, was to absorb his energies for the remainder of his life. Coming to Elkhart also marked the beginning of nearly fifty years of association with Noah E. Byers in Mennonite Education—at Elkhart, Goshen and Bluffton.[7] Another association at Elkhart which made an impression on Smith was that with J. S. Coffman, the president of the Institute's board of trustees. He had been impressed with Coffman ever since hearing him preach in Illinois a few years before. Now it was to be his privilege to room in the Coffman home. Let us again use his own words to tell of this contact:

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 129. [6] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

[7] I am indebted to Dean Byers for some of the information in this article.

. . . I soon found a most delightful home with the Coffman family. For two years I enjoyed their hospitality. During that time the fine spirit of Christian devotion, as well as the high tone of refinement and culture which dominated their whole family life was both an inspiration and a continued source of pleasure to me; and was not the least of the factors that made these two years of my early teaching experience perhaps the most pleasant of my whole educational career.[8]

One of the many subjects Smith taught at Elkhart was American literature. He became enthusiastic about the subject and felt that he was able to transfer at least some of the enthusiasm to his students. Though history became his chief interest later, he never lost interest in literature and also taught it occasionally later on. This may have helped him in the development of his literary style.

After two years at Elkhart, Smith decided to finish his college course. Choosing the University of Illinois, he registered there in the fall of 1900. As his high school study had been irregular and most of his normal courses too elementary to count as entrance requirements, he had to work off a number of deficiencies before he was considered a full-fledged freshman. He soon discovered that the academic atmosphere and the emphasis on scholarship at the University were much more to his liking than the atmosphere at Normal. He did not neglect extracurricular activities, however. Among other things he joined the Y.M.C.A., was elected vice-president, and became chairman of the Bible-study committee. Some nine hundred students took Bible study at that time.

Another of his experiences at the university which stood out in his memory was his petitioning the faculty to be excused from military training on grounds of conscientious scruples. The matter as to what his position should be on this question apparently had been thought through beforehand. Writing some years later with regard to this episode he gave his conviction in words which constitute a testimonial worthy of wider circulation:

I was a Mennonite. Mennonites, like the Quakers, believe that love is a more potent solvent of social misunderstandings than hate; that force can never settle any problem affecting the relations of normal human beings; and that peace is always to be preferred to war among the nations of the world. Mennonites believe this so thoroughly that they have given this belief the sanction of a religious doctrine as essential and sacred as any other in their creed. Of all the religious principles which distinguish Mennonites from other Protestant groups I have always respected this as the most fundamental; and one which it seemed to me was grounded on sound logic and correct social philosophy, as well as on good Scripture. . . .

[8] *Education of a Mennonite Country Boy*, p. 133.

Believing as I did, that the war system was all wrong, I saw no consistency in drilling for war.[9]

Though exemption was given only once before in the history of the institution the request was readily granted.

Despite the deficiencies upon entering, by taking summer work, which included one summer at the University of Michigan, and by securing some credit by examination, Smith was almost able to finish the requirements for the B.A. degree by the end of two years. Transferring a summer's credits from the University of Chicago, in which institution he enrolled for further study, he secured his B.A. from Illinois in 1903. Despite his heavy load, the quality of his work was high enough to earn him a Phi Beta Kappa key.

At the University of Chicago, where he went for his graduate study, Smith found his life work. After floundering about in the fields of languages and English he finally decided upon history as the field of his special interest. From elementary school on he had been interested in it. Coming from a historic community, Metamora —where the old courthouse still stands in which Abraham Lincoln, Robert G. Ingersol, Adlai Stevenson, (grandfather of the present governor of Illinois) and other historic characters practiced law— heightened his interest in historical things.

It was at Chicago also that he decided upon his special field of investigation, Mennonite history. One day while casually leafing through a library book on Baptist history he ran across the name of Menno Simons. Upon further reading he found to his surprise that the Baptists claimed a common origin with the Mennonites in the Anabaptist movement of the sixteenth century. Still further reading during the year brought the information that even the Separatists of England and the Congregationalists were indebted to some extent to the influence of the Anabaptist movement. To Smith, who had not known much about Mennonite origins, this was a startling and interesting discovery. He had always thought of Mennonites as an obscure and peculiar people, with strange unpopular practices, and with little influence on the currents of history. He had never expected to find their deeds recorded in either secular or religious books of history. To discover, therefore, that they were pioneers in the rise of religious toleration, and that, in a sense, they were the spiritual forefathers of the Baptists and the Congregationalists, as well as the earliest of all modern peace societies, was a revelation to this young Mennonite as surprising as it was pleasing. "The real contribution of the Mennonites to the

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 143.

great cause of religious toleration and world peace ought to be given wider publicity, I thought. Before I left the university I had decided to make a thorough investigation of their history and if possible write a comprehensive treatise on the subject for publication."[10] And so there, at the University of Chicago, began a task that did not end until a few weeks before his death in October, 1948.

Securing his master's degree in the spring of 1903—a week or so, incidentally, before his B.A. was conferred at the University of Illinois!—Smith accepted a call to teach at Goshen College during the years 1903 to 1905. During these two years, he taught history and English and served as librarian.

He returned to Chicago in the fall of 1905 to complete his doctorate. Invited early in the fall to read a paper before the history club, composed of graduate students and faculty members in the history department, he decided to read a paper on the Mennonites. He had already done some research in the rich library collection of John F. Funk at Elkhart, and he now presented the results of this research. The group was favorably impressed. He was elected president of the history club, and soon afterward he received a history fellowship. The thesis subject which he proposed, "The Mennonites of America," was accepted.

At Chicago Smith studied under some of the country's ablest historians—Professors Judson, Jameson, Merriam (political scientist) Terry, Thompson, Schevill, McLaughlin and others. He also associated with students who became leading members of their craft in later years. Smith always cherished these associations. A number of his associates, both teachers and fellow students, have told the present writer of their respect and regard for Smith.

Whatever time could be spared from his regular class work Smith devoted to research on his thesis. As source materials were rather scattered he had to do some traveling, especially in the East. It was on such a trip in the summer of 1906 that he received word of the death of his father, Bishop John Smith. Because he could not be located immediately he arrived home too late for the funeral. He has recorded the effect the passing of his father had on him.[11] Since mother had already gone, home would no longer be a magic word pulling him back year after year to the place of his birth and his boyhood recollections. It would now be a sweet memory. His father was never privileged to go far in securing an education. But C. Henry always appreciated his Christian parents and training, and the fact that his father was a devout and forward-looking

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 147. [11] *Ibid.*, pp. 163-165.

leader in the church. After a few days' visit to the scenes of his boyhood, scenes which no longer seemed the same, and with a somewhat heavy heart, he resumed his research in the East.

He was able to complete his course work and his thesis during his second year at the University. He passed his examinations successfully and received the Ph.D. degree in the spring of 1907. He had now come to the end of a long educational trail—an unusually long one for a Mennonite at that time.

For the following year Smith had accepted a position in the history department of the University of Arizona. But for some reason, unknown to the writer, he changed his mind with regard to that appointment and taught instead in Manual Training High School in Indianapolis. At the end of the year, President N. E. Byers of Goshen College went to Indianapolis to confer with him about returning to the Goshen faculty. Not caring particularly for high school teaching, Smith decided that one year of it was enough, and he returned to Goshen in the fall of 1908. As indicated above, he had taught there during the years 1903 to 1905 after receiving his master's degree. The year 1903 was the year in which Elkhart Institute was moved to Goshen. In fact Smith participated in the historic ground breaking ceremonies on the new Goshen campus in June, 1903, where he delivered the address of the day.

His years at Goshen were happy ones. Teaching history, he felt, to interested students of more mature age was not a task but a delightful privilege—the kind of thing one would want to do even if he were not paid for it. And the pay certainly was not large. In fact, he consented to come to Goshen for about half of what he received in teaching high school in Indianapolis. He never received more than $800 per year at Goshen, and at first his salary was less than that. But he was not interested in teaching and research for the money he could get out of it. If he had been, he would not have remained all his life in Mennonite institutions.

In December 1908, he was married to Laura Ioder of Tiskilwa, Illinois. To the end she remained a loyal and faithful companion and shared his various interests.

In 1909 Smith was appointed the first dean of Goshen College, which office he continued to fill until the close of his service at Goshen in 1913. At that time, however, the work of dean was not so exacting, the president doing part of the work now associated with the dean's office. Both Dean Smith and President Byers collaborated closely in the various problems confronting the institution. One organization, still functioning, which Smith and

Byers started, was the Intercollegiate Peace Oratorical Association, which provides for the annual intercollegiate peace oratorical contests. While at Goshen, Smith, in 1909, published his first major book, *The Mennonites of America,* an enlargement of his dissertation. This work became a household item in Mennonite homes.

In 1913 Dean Smith, along with President Byers, leaving Goshen College accepted a call to serve in Bluffton College, Bluffton, Ohio. Here, except for one leave of absence, he remained as a Professor of History and Political Science until he retired from teaching in 1946. In addition to teaching, he carried on an amazing amount of research in Mennonite history. For several years he was also secretary of the college.

In 1920 appeared his *The Mennonites,* and in 1927 *The Coming of the Russian Mennonites—an Episode in the Settling of the Last Frontier* was published. Dr. Smith gathered part of the material for his latter book while teaching at Bethel College at North Newton, Kansas, during the year 1922-1923. His *Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century,* a volume published by the Pennsylvania German Society, appeared in 1929. His *magnum opus, The Story of the Mennonites,* was published in 1941. This work gives a full treatment of the Mennonites both in Europe and America. His shorter works and numerous articles are listed elsewhere in this journal.

Besides teaching and research duties, Smith formed several business connections. He helped to organize in the 1920's the Citizens National Bank of Bluffton and the Pandora National Bank of Pandora, Ohio. Of the former he was president from its organization until his death. Of the Pandora bank he was a member of the board of directors, and president for a few years. That these banks were well managed is indicated by the fact that both of them opened without restrictions immediately after the bank holiday in 1933. From the middle of the thirties on, he gave more time to these banks and was relieved of a part of his teaching.

At the end of 1946 he retired altogether from teaching, with the exception of one course in Mennonite history which he continued to teach two years longer. In recognition of his long and outstanding service in Bluffton College and in the Mennonite church, he was granted the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters (Litt.D.) by Bluffton College in its 1947 commencement exercises.

His work for the church was not confined to teaching and research. He frequently addressed church meetings, and he served on church boards and committees. For seven years, 1941-48 he was a member of the Board of Publication of the General Conference

of the Mennonite Church of North America. Earlier he had been a charter member of the Church History Committee of the (Old) Mennonite Church, serving from 1911 to 1921. He also served on the Historical Committee of the General Conference Mennonites the last years of his life.

Smith believed in the educational value of travel. Not neglecting his own country, he enjoyed the scenic and historic spots in all sections, particularly in the West for which he had a special fondness. He made trips also to Canada, Hawaii, Alaska, Mexico, and, of course, to Europe. One of his trips to Europe was made in 1936 on the occasion of the third World Mennonite Conference at Amsterdam where he served on the program. His wife, when able, accompanied him on these trips.

Smith was not the kind who talked much about his health. Long before the end, apparently, he and his doctor alone knew the serious nature of his last illness. Quietly and unobtrusively he began to put his business affairs in order in preparation for that day. Only after his death did relatives and friends see and understand the significance of the detailed preparations he had made.

And yet almost to the last he continued his work in Mennonite history. He served as the first president of the Mennonite Research Fellowship, organized in 1945. Co-editor with Harold S. Bender of a projected new Mennonite Encyclopedia, from 1946, he had been assigned to write a number of articles for the publication. A few weeks before his passing most of these articles were sent in. A fruitful life was brought to a close October 18, 1948.

The greatest monument to his memory will no doubt be his historical works which will be appraised in a later issue of this journal. He was a pioneer in the field of Mennonite history and the first one in America to be fully trained for such work. Humble in spirit, he would have been the last to insist that his work was perfect or free from error. A few months before his death he was laying plans for a revision, with the aid of younger historians, of his *Story of the Mennonites*. Always a liberal giver to good causes, he was not narrow in his benefactions. Not infrequently he donated to institutions other than the one with which he was connected. Even his will provided for such gifts, including funds for the encouragement of peace orations in five Mennonite Colleges, and scholarships in two. Finally, C. Henry Smith will be remembered as a great and inspiring teacher, a Christian gentleman and scholar, and a kindly and generous friend.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF C. HENRY SMITH

Nelson P. Springer

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B. Minor Books

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"The Mennonites in American Literature"

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"Michigan"
"Minnesota"
"Missouri"
"Nebraska"
"New York"
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"All-Mennonite Convention"
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"Anwohner"
"Ashland County, Ohio"
"John S. Baer"
"Peter Balzer"
"Baptist Church"
"Bluffton College"
"Bluffton, Ohio"
"Burlington Railway"
"Butler County, Ohio"
"Noah E. Byers"
"Cleveland, Ohio"
"Diener Versammlung"
"Ebenezer" (Congregation at Bluffton)
"Eureka, Illinois"
"First Mennonite Church, Bluffton"

F. Articles in Mennonite Periodicals

Key to Abbreviations

Key to Abbreviations

BA—*Bluffton Alumnus* (Bluffton, O.)
CEv—*Christian Evangel* (Bloomington, Ill.)
CEx—*Christian Exponent* (Wooster, O.)
CM—*Christian Monitor* (Scottdale, Pa.)
FA—*Family Almanac* (Scottdale, Pa.)
GCR—*Goshen College Record* (Goshen, Ind.)
GW—*Gospel Witness* (Scottdale, Pa.)
IM—*Institute Monthly* (Elkhart, Ind.)
M—*The Mennonite* (Newton, Kans.)
ML—*Mennonite Life* (North Newton, Kans.)
MQR—*Mennonite Quarterly Review* (Goshen, Ind.)
MYA—*Mennonite Year-Book and Almanac* (Souderton, Pa.)
MYD—*Mennonite Yearbook and Directory* (Scottdale, Pa.)
RAMC—*Report of All-Mennonite Convention*
YGCM—*Year Book of the General Conference of the Mennonite Church of N.A.* (Berne, Ind.)
YCCM—*Yearbook of the Central Conference of Mennonites* (Bloomington, Ill.)
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THE CONFESSION OF THE SWISS BRETHREN IN HESSE, 1578

Edited by Theodor Sippell

The confession herewith presented is a part of the *Täufer-Akten* (i.e., court records of trials of Anabaptists, sentences pronounced upon them, etc.) of Hesse, collected by Walter Köhler, Walter Sohm, and Theodor Sippell, which are to be published as the third volume of the edition of the *Urkundliche Quellen zur Hessischen Reformationsgeschichte* prepared by the Historical Commission of Hesse and Waldeck. The author of the confession is Hans Pauly, called Kuchenbecker, the son of the Hühnervogt Pauly at Treysa, Bezirk Kassel. Expelled from Treysa, he lived at Hatzbach, a small village in Kreis Marburg.

The protocol of July 21, 1578, gives precise information concerning the origin of the confession. It follows:

"Hans Pauly Kuchenbecker of Hatzbach states that he and Thöll of Storndorff, Paul of Hunfeld, Theise of Allendorf in Berschiessen, Henrich Moller in Losemohlen above Schrecksbach in Schwalm, tailor Johan of Vadenrodt in Amt Alsfeldt, Cuntzgen of Hainbach in Amt Schonstein, met last Sunday in his house at Hatzbach, read what was sent them by the learned men, compared it with the writing they handed in yesterday, and on the following Monday he, Pauli, had formulated this writing."

Concerning the relationship between the Swiss Brethren and the Hutterites he states in a cross-examination at about the same time: "They do not agree with those in Bohemia; he and his group are Swiss Brethren. They do not agree with those in Bohemia, because they take the property of their brethren, separate marriages, love their leaders better than their brother, have all things in common. Also that they have no ban, and that they do not restore anything to those who leave."

Concerning the midnight worship services of the Brethren in the lonely forest there are two graphic reports. On May 22, 1578, Christ of Eckhartts, Rentmeister at Alsfeld, reports to the landgrave, "that on Easter Monday in the Jorg Dieden woods known as the 'Spangenberische Dicke,' on a clearing about 60 rods from Your Excellency's border, eight Anabaptists who call themselves Hutterian Brethren met at midnight, and on Tuesday of Pentecost 15 Swiss Brethren met in the same woods near a well called Friedrichsbronn. To these came about 150 persons from the ad-

jacent villages, such as Gericht Oetra and other places, for they intended, as they say, to watch them. Those who were there report, when they have assembled one of them steps forward and preaches, and at their last meeting a man from Hatzbach, whom they call Kuchenbecker, preached. After the sermon they baptize those who wish to join their brotherhood. After this they spread a white cloth upon the ground, take bread, cut it into slices, and break it. Afterward wine in a silver cup, and before they distribute it they recite the words of the institution. Finally, when they have embaced and kissed one another they part."

More explicit is the record of a hearing of Pastor Tilemann Nolte at Schwarz in July, 1578. "He says it happened on Monday of Pentecost, that a peasant called Hen Klint of Storndorff came to him in the churchyard and said the Anabaptists were holding a preaching, did he not wish to go along and find out what they did. He said he would like to go along and listen so he would know their doctrine, life, and conduct, so in case a pious man should come to him, he would know what to tell him about them. Thus his simplicity and curiosity deceived him to the extent that he went. But when he got there he discovered that they did not want to hold a preaching service, although 300 persons were present. They sent two men to him and announced: they were poor people, they, like Nicodemus had sought the Lord at night. Although they would like to teach and preach openly, the authorities would not permit it. Further the two said: Parson, if you ever know that the authorities are looking for us, notify us. Then he said, 'I know nothing about it, you may do whatever you wish; I am here neither for good reasons nor for bad.' Then they first sang a psalm, and then Kuchenbecker preached.

"Asked what Kuchenbecker preached, he said, he had not taken a particular text. He said first: 'My dear brethren and sisters, you know that from the beginning of the world it has gone badly with the pious,' and cited the example of Cain and Abel. Then he turned to the chapter of Luke and said, 'Blessed are the peacemakers,' and further to the prophet Jeremiah chapter 6. He writes that they shall walk in the old way, and so he preached about two hours often repeating the texts he had referred to, and admonished to repentance and humility.

"Asked if Kuchenbecker urged the hearers to be rebaptized he said, no, he did not hear that. The prayer pleased him most, for he prayed in behalf of all kinds of trouble of all Christendom, also for emperor, king, princes and lords, that God might enlighten

them and give them understanding, that they might honor and praise God. Then he asked his brethren: 'Brother, if you know something to add, indicate it.' One stepped forward whom he did not know. He said: 'My dear brethren, we have a fellow-brother who wishes you peace and requests that you remember him in your prayer, that God may strengthen him in his faith. Whoever wishes it, say amen!'

"Then another stepped forward and also said, there was a sister who wished them peace and requested intercession. Others did the same. This lasted about an hour, then all fell on their knees and prayed the Lord's Prayer aloud; then they parted. They did not distribute the sacraments this time. This was (as he reported) done on Easter Monday."

The proceeding against Hans Pauly Kuchenbecker ended as usual with expulsion from the country. His further fate is unknown. [Translated from the German.]

The Confession of the Swiss Brethren in Hesse

(July 21, 1578)

Bekantnus christliches glaubens und bruderliche vereinigung im glauben etlicher neugebornen christen und auserwelten kinder gottes, die itzt hin und her zerstreuet seind. (Auf dem Umschlag II Cor. 13:5-6.) Habakuk 2,4; Hebr, 10,38; Rom. 10,10; Hebr, 11,6; Hos. 14,10.

Dieweil der rechte glaub in Christum selig macht,
So musse er gar wol werden bedacht,
Darumb sollen mir in nit achten gering,
Dan er ist nit eins jedermans ding,
Und so er tot, wie uns das Jacobus seit,
Darumb mir uns sollen probieren und grunden,
Ob mir in einem rechten glauben stunden,
Des grund mir hetten in heiliger geschrift,
Und der nit von menschen wer gestift,
Sonder auf Jesum Christ, den waren eckstein,
Der wird beston wie gold und silber rein,
Das siben mal im feuer durchleutert wird,
Also ein rechter christ, wen er wird probiert,
Dan so wird im zu einem erbe gegeben
Die unzergengliche kron, das ewige leben.
Amen. Amen. Amen.

Vored

Es lehret uns unser herr Jesus Christus im evangelio, so mir in ihn glauben und in seiner rede bleiben werden, so werden wir seine rechte junger sein und die warheit erkennen, und durch solchen glauben das ewige leben haben, wie er spricht: wer in mich glaubt, der hat das ewige leben, item: alle, die in in gleuben, werden nit verloren, sonder das ewig leben haben. Item: wer in mich gleubet, der wirt leben, ob er schon sturbe, und wer da lebt und gleubt in mich, der wird nit sterben ewiglich. Joh. 3, 15.16.36; 6,40,47; 8,51; 11,25-26; 20,31. item: wer mein wort hort und gleubt dem, der mich gesandt hat, der hat das ewige leben und kompt nit ins gericht, sonder ist vom tod zum leben hindurchgetrungen, und derglichen viel zeugnus im evangelio.

Also, lehren auch derselbigen glichen die heiligen aposteln; das kein ander heil sei, und kein ander nam menschen gegeben, dorin wir konnen selig werden, und ist also vielfaltig bezeugt, wer da glaubt and getauft wird, der wird selig, wer aber nit gleubt, der wird verdampt. Mark. 16,16. Dan ir seid alle gottes kinder durch den glauben in Christo Jesu, dan wie viel euer getauft sind, die haben Christum angezogen, dan in Christo Jesu gilt weder beschneidung noch vorhaut, sonder der glaub, so durch die liebe tätig ist, Gal. 3, 26.27; 5,6.

Umb des glaubens willen werdent ir euch freuen mit unaussprechlicher and herrlicher freud, und das end euers glaubens darvon bringen, nemlich der selen seligkeit. I Petr. 1,9.

Und nur dorneben Cristus seine junger und nachfolger, treulich warnet. Matt. 24, da er in sagt von der welt ende, das sie sich huten sollen, auf das sie nit verfurt werden, dan es werden viel komen in seinem namen und viel verfuren, und es werde sich erheben ein volk wider das ander, und ein konigreich wider das ander, und werden falsche christen und falsche propheten aufstohn, viel Zeichen und wunder tun, wan es moglich wer, die auserwelten wurden verfurt, und sie werden dan von allen menschen gehasset und verfolgt werden, und der greuel werde ston an der heiligen stede, und dieweil die ungerechtigkeit also werde uberhand nemen, so werde die liebe in vielen erkalten, alles in masen, wie zun zeiten Mose und Lotth geschehen sei.

Desglichen die heiligen aposteln uns auch treulich warnen und den abfall des glaubens anzeigen, wie Paulus spricht II Tess, 2, 1-4. 11:12; das der tag des heren nit ehe kom, es sei dan vorhin der abfall komen,und das offenbart werde der mensch der sunde und das kind der verderbung, der sich in tempel gottes setzt und gibt sich

aus, er sei gott. Item, das in gott so kreftige irtum senden werde, und sie darumb gericht werden, dieweil sie der warheit nit geglaubt haben, sonder lust gehapt an der ungerechtigkeit.

Item, das in den letzten tagen greuliche Zeit vorhanden sein werden, dan es werden menschen sein, die von inen selbst halten, geizig, hoffertig, lesterer, den altern ungehorsam, undankbar, ungeistlich, unfreundlich, widerspennig, schender, unkeusch, die kein liebe zum guten haben, von solchen mir uns abwenden sollen, die imerdar lehrnen und doch nit zum erkantnus der warheit komen. II Timo. 3, 1-5.7. Item, das in den letzten zeiten etlich vom glauben werden abtreten und anhangen den irrigen und verfurischen geistern, die brandmal im gewissen haben, und verbieten ehelich zu werden und zu meiden die speis, die gott geschaffen hat. I Timo. 4, 1-4.

Derhalben uns der apostel Paulus lehrt und ermanet, das mir das sollen handhaben, das sie uns angeben und mir durch ire wort und brief gelehrnt haben, und uns auch entziehen von einem jeglichen bruder, der da unordentlich wandelt und nit nach der angebung, die er von ime entpfangen hab. II Thessa. 2,15; 3,6.

Dan kein ander evangelio (!) ist, dan des herren Christi, wilchs dan etliche wollen verkeren, und spricht: so auch wir, oder ein engel vom himel euch wurde predigen anders, dan das mir euch geprediget haben, der sei verflucht. Galla. 1,8, wilchs er auch zum andern mal geredt hat.

Und dieweil mir dan in disen letzten zeiten solchen irtum, greuel, spaltung, sund und ungerechtigkeit sehen und horen, so haben mir solchs aus forchte gottes zu herzen genommen und uns vor gott genidert und gedemutigt mit einem bussfertigen leben, und gott den allerhochsten umb verstand und kraft seines heligen geists gebetten, auch die heilige schrift der propheten, Christum (!) und seiner aposteln mit fleiss durchsucht, ir lehr, leben und wandel, ir ordnung, gebruch und bevelh alles wargenomen und uns im glauben in bruderlicher liebe und einigkeit vereiniget, und also diese nachfolgende bekantnus des glaubens beschriben und zusamen bracht, und wie mir solches erkant haben, also seind mir auch bereit solchen glauben zu bekennen und denselben mit heiliger Schrift zu beweisen.

Auch in solchem glauben christliche tugent, bescheidenheit mit gedult zu erzeigen und in aller bruderlicher liebe, und auch gemeiner liebe, den glauben zu beweisen, dormit mir uns mit allen gleubigen umb des christlichen glaubens willen ewig erfreuen mit unaussprechlicher und herrlicher Freude, und das end des glaubens darvon bringen, nemlich der selen seligkeit, und solches wunschen mir

allen unsern feinden und frunden, und die es von herzen begeren durch Jesum Christum, unsern herrn und heiland. Amen.

Von der heiligen schrift

Wir glauben, erkenen und bekennen, das die heilige geschrift beide des alten und des neuen testaments von gott zu beschreiben bevolhen ist, und das sie durch heilige menschen, die der geist gottes dorzu getriben hat, beschriben ist worden. Derhalben die gleubigen neugebornen christen und kinder gottes sich der zu gebruchen haben, zur lehr und ermanung, zur straff und besserung, den grund ires glaubens dormit zu beweisen, das er heiliger schrift glichformig sei.

Zeignus heiliger schrift. (Zitiert wird nach der s.g. Froschauer Bibel.) Exod. 34,27; ferner: 4. Esr. 14, Abs. 4, Jes, 30,8; Ps. 102, 19; Jes. 34,16; Apg. 17,11; Rom. 15,4; ". 2. Timoth. 3,15-16-17; 2nd Petr. 1,21; I Kor. 10,11.

Von gott [1]

Wir glauben, erkennen und bekennen einen einigen, ewigen und allmechtigen gott, der da hat weder anfang noch ende, der alles in himel und erden erfult und im wesen erhelt, der unsichtbar und unbegreiflich ist, dem auch nichts verborgen ist, der alles menschen herzen, sinn und gedanken weiss, und alle Dinge horet erkent und sihet in himel und erden, im mehr und under der erden.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift.

5. Mos. 6,4-5; 1. Mos. 17,1; Ps. 18,32; Jer. 10:10; Hiob. 12,7-10; Hiob 42,2; Ps. 135,6; Sacharja 4,10; Jer. 32,27; Jes. 48,12-13; Matth. 19,26. Mark. 10,27; Luk. 18,27; Offb. 1,8; Hebr. 4,13.

Von gott [2]

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen gott einen herren und schopfer himels und erden und alles, was dorinnen ist, es sei sichtbar oder unsichtbar, auch meer und aller wasserfluss, aller lebendigen creaturen, die in himel und auf erden, im meer und under der erden sein.

Zeugnis heiliger Schrift. I Mos. 1; 5 Mos. 10,14; Ps. 146, 5-6; Jes. 37,16; Jer. 27,5; Apg, 4,24; Apg, 14,15; Apg. 17,24-25. Hebr. 1,10-11; Hebr. 3,4.

Von gott [3]

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen gott einen vatter Jesu Christi und aller gleubigen neugeborenen cristen, die durch sein Wort und kraft des heiligen geistes widergeboren sein, die in irem leben gottes wort geglaubt und von sunden in einem bussfertigen leben sich zu gott bekert haben.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. Jes. 63, 16; I Chron. 29 (30), 10; Ps. 103, 13; (Ps. 2,7) I. Kor. 8,6; Matth. 11,25; Matth. 23,9; Ephes. 3,14-15; Gal. 3,26-27; Gal, 4,6; Ephes. 4,5-6; I Joh. 3,1; Hebr. 1,5.

Von gott [4]

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das gott nit ein vatter ist der ungleubigen und unbussfertigen welt und gottlosen, die in iren sunden verstockt im unglauben, bosen und unbussfertigen leben bleiben bis an ir end, die Christum nit annemen und sich nit zu gott bekeren wollen.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. 5. Mos. 32,5; Mal. 1,6; Joh. 8,42,44; Rom. 9,8; I. Joh, 3,9-10; 2. Joh, 1,9; I. Joh. 5, 18-19; I. Joh. 5,4.

Von Christo (1)

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen Jesus Christus einen sohn gottes, unsern herren, aus dem vatter geboren, gott aus gott, eines gottlichen wesens, glicher gott macht, gewalt und herrligkeit, das ewige Wort des vatters, dardurch alle ding gesschaffen seind, der erstgeboren aller creaturen, das ebenbild des unsichtbarn gottes und der glanz seiner herrligkeit.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. Ps. 2,7; Ps. 45,8; Jes. 9,6; Joh. 1,1-3; Johs. 19,30; Joh. 14,9-10; Kol. 1,15-16; Kol. 2,9-10; I. Joh. 5,20; Hebr. 1,5; I. Joh. 3,33; I. Joh. 4,15.

Von Christo (2)

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das Jesus Christus gottes son, unser herr und heiland, sei der rechte messias, Silo, prophet und konig, der in die Welt komen soll, und das in gott in heiliger schrift von anfang den altvetern verheissen hat.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. I. Mos. 3,15; I. Mos. 49,10; 4 Mos. 24,17; 5 Mos. 18,15; I. Sam. 2,35; Ps. 2,6-7; Jes, 40,10; Jer. 23, 5-6; Micha 5,1; Sach. 9,9;

Von Christo (3)

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das Jesus Christus gottes sohn, unser herr und heiland, der verheissene Messias, das wort des vatters, umb unsers heils willen uns von gott dem vatter von dem himel gesandt ist.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. Jes. 28,16; Jes. 40,5; Jes. 45,8; 52,10; Dan. 2,44-45; Matth. 1.20; Joh. 3,13; Joh. 6,51; Joh. 8,23; Joh. 16,28; I. Kor. 15,47-48; Hebr. 10,5.

Von Christo (4)

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das Jesus Christus gottes sohn, unser herr und heiland, das wort des vatters, ist ins fleisch komen und ist entpfangen vom heiligen geist, hat den samen Abrahe nach der verheissung an sich genomen, ist in der junckfrauen Maria mensch worden, durch kraft und wirkung des heiligen geists.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. I. Mos. 12,3; Jes. 11,1-2; Apg. 13,22-23; Gal. 3, 16; Rom. 4,16; Rom. 9,5; Rom. 8,3; Hebr. 2,14.16-17; I. Joh. 4,2-3.

Von Christo (5)

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das Jesus Christus gottes sohn, unser herr und heiland, der verheissene messias, das wort des vatters, so mensch worden ist, ist geboren aus Maria der reinen junckfrauen, warer gott und mensch.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. Jes. 7,14; Jes, 9,6; Rom. 1,2-4; Gal. 4,4-5; Matth. 1,21; Matth. 2,1; Luk. 2,6-7; Luk. 2,10-11; Luk. 2,16-18.

Von Christo (6)

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das Jesus Christus gottes sohn, unser herr und heiland, im fleisch zu Jerusalem gelitten hat unter Pontio und* Pilato; und ist gecreuziget, gestorben und begraben.* [Dieser Schreibfehler ist bezeichnend für die Hast, in der das Bekenntnis niedergeschrieben wurde. (Th. Sippell)]

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. Jes. 53,7-9; Matth. 20,18-19; Matth. 27,26; Mark. 15,15; Luk. 23,25; Joh. 19,16; Luk. 24,25-26; Apg. 2,36; I. Petr. 2,21; I Petr. 4,1; Hebr. 2,9,18; Phil. 2,8.

Von Christo (7)

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das Jesus Christus gottes sohn, unser herr und heiland, durch gottliche kraft der seelen ist nidergefaren zur hellen und die gleubigen altvatter erlost hat.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. I. Sam. 2,6; Jes. 42,6-7; Hos. 13,14; Ps. 16,10; Ps. 49,16; Apg. 2,27; Eph. 4,8-9; I Kor. 15,55; I Petr. 3,19-20; I Petr. 4,6; Offb. 1,18; Offb. 20,1-2.

Von Christo (8)

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das Jesus Christus gottes sohn, unser herr und heiland, am dritten tage ist auferstanden von den toten.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. Matth. 12,40; Luk. 24,46-47; Matth. 28,6; Luk. 24,5,6; Joh. 20,9; Apg. 4, Matth. 12,40; Luk. 24,46-47; Apg. 4,33; Rom. 4,24-25; Rom. 8,11; Rom. 14,9; I. Kor. 15,20; Joh. 2,22; Rom. 10,9.

Von Christo (9)

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das Jesus Christus gottes sohn, unser herr und heiland, ist aufgefahren gehn himel, sitzend zu der rechten hand gottes, des allmechtigen vatters.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift—Ps. 110,1; Mark. 16,19; Luk. 24,51-52; Joh. 20,17; Joh. 3,13; Apg. 1,9-10; Apg. 7,55; Ephes. 1,20-21; Phil. 2,9-10; I. Petr. 3,22.

Von Christo (10)

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das Jesus Christus gottes sohn, unser herr und heiland, am letzten tage wirt wider komen zu richten die lebendigen und die toten.

Zeugnus heiliger Schrift. Matth. 16,27; Matth. 25,32; Joh. 5, 22; Matth. 28,18; Apg. 1,11; Apg. lo, 42; Apg. 17,30-31; 2. Kor. 5, 10; 2. Thess. 1,7-8. I. Petr. 4,4-5. Offb. 1,7.

Von heiligen geist

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekènnen einen heiligen geist, der von dem vatter und sohn ausgehet, glicher gott, gottlicher macht, gewalt und herrlickeit, also das gott der vatter, sohn und heiliger geist in heiliger dreieinigkeit eine gottheit sei.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. I. Joh. 5,7; I Mos. 1,1-2; Ps. 33,6; Hiob 33,4; Buch d. Weish. 1,7; Jes. 34, 16; Joel 2,2 (Kap, 3,1); Matth. 3,16; Joh. 14,16-17; Apg. 2,4; Rom. 8,14,16; I. Petr. 4,14; I. Kor. 2, 14.

Von der christlichen Kirchen

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen eine heilige christliche kirche, ein gemeinschaft der heiligen, das sind alle gleubige neugeborne christen und kinder gottes, die durch gottes wort und heiligen geist von oben herab widergeboren seind.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. 2. Mos. 19,5; Jes. 10,22-23; Eph. 5,26-27; Ps. 119,79 (?); I. Kor. 1,9; Hebr. 12, 22-23; I. Joh. 1,3-7.

Von vergebung der sunden

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen ein vergebung der sunde, durch den tod und blut unseres herren Jesu Christi, der christlichen kirchen und gemeine der heiligen, und deren, die sich von sunden bekeren.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. I. Mos. 4,7; Ps. 32,2; Ps. 103,12; Jer. 31,34; Hes. 18,23; Mich. 7,18; Spruche 28,13; Matth. 12,31; I. Joh. 1,9; Apg. 10,43; Apg. 26,18; I. Joh. 2,12.

Von auferstehung des fleischs

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen ein auferstehung des fleischs am jungsten tage, beide der gerechten und ungerechten, da die seel iren leib wider nemen wirt, und die guts geton haben, werden auferstehn zum ewigen leben, die aber bos geton haben, zur ewigen pein und verdammus.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. Hiob. 19,25-26; Jes. 26,19; Dan. 12,2; 4. Esr. 2, Abs. 5; Luk. 20,38; Joh. 5,28-29; Apg. 24,15; I. Thess. 4,16-17; Offb. 20,12.15.

Von dem ewigen leben

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen ein ewiges leben, das gott allen gleubigen und auserwelten geben will, die alhie in diser zeit gottes wort in Christum geglaubt und von sunden sich bekert haben.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. Jes. 64,4 (I. Kor. 2,)9; Jes. 35,10; Jes. 25,8; Ps. 22,27; Dan. 12,3; Matth. 19,29; Joh. 3,36; Joh. 6,47 (?); Offb. 22,3-5.

Von der buss

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das, wer zu gott komen will, seines himmlischen richs, gnaden und heiligen geists teilhaftig werden, der muss sein sund erkennen und bekennen und derselben absterben, sich mit einem bussfertigen leben zu gott bekern, in Christum gleuben und durch das evangelio (!) verneuert werden.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. 2 Chron. 30,6; Hiob 13, 15-16; Ps. 32,5; Jes. 55,6-7; Joel 2,12; Sirach 5,7; Sirach 18,20-21; Matth. 3,8-10; Matth. 9,13; I. Joh. 1,9; Apg. 17,30.

Von der taufe

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen ein christliche taufe, die innerlich und eusserlich geschehen muss, innerlich mit dem heiligen geist und feuer, und eusserlich aber mit wasser, im namen des vatters und des sohns und des heiligen geists, denen, die buss getan haben, dem evangelio gleuben, iren glauben bekennen und den tauf begehren.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. Matth. 3,11; Mark. 1,8; Luk. 3,16; Joh. 1,26; 31-33; Apg. 1,5; Matth. 28,19-20; Mark. 16,15-16; Apg. 2,38.41; Apg. 8,12; Apg. 8,26-38; Apg. 10,47-48; Apg. 16, 32-33; Apg. 18,8; Apg. 19,5-7.

Von nachtmal

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das das abentmal ein insatzung und bevelh unsers hern Jesu Christi ist und ein kreftige versiglung der seligen gemeinschaft aller gleubigen mit dem hern Jesu Christi (!), das glich wie das brot und wein mit dem munde entpfangen wird, also den himmlischen leib fleisch und blut Jesu Christi geistlich im glauben die gleubige seel entpfange.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. Matth. 26,26-28; Mark. 14,22-24; Luk. 22,19-20; I. Kor. 11,23-25; I. Kor. 11,26; I. Kor. 10,15-16-17; Joh. 6,54-56, 61-64; Apg. 2, 46-47.

Von den undertanen

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das die undertanen der oberkeit den gehorsam schuldig sein und schoss, zoll, zins, tribut und ehrerbietung im zu geben, und alles, was nit wider gott ist, auch in undertenigkeit inen zu dienen und gott fur sie zu bitten.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. Jer. 27,6-8; Baruch 1,11-12; Spr. 20,2; Pred. 10,20; Matth. 22,21; Rom. 13,1.5-6; I. Tim. 2,1-2; Tit,3,1; I. Petr. 2,13-14.

Von dem ehestand

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das die ehe ein insatzung und gute ordenung gottes ist, das ein man und ein weib sein solte in ehelicher beiwonung, lieb und treu eins dem andern zu sein, der man als das haupt mit guter vernunft dem weibe vorston, und das weib in undertenigkeit dem man gehorsam sein, und die zwei ein fleisch sein.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. I. Mos. 2,18; I. Mos. 2,24; Spr. 31, 10-12; Matth. 19,4-5; I. Kor. 7,2.28-29; Ephes. 5,33; I. Thim. 3,12; Hebr. 13,4.

Von der ehescheidung

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das man und weib, so durch gotliche vorsehung, schicking und zusammenfugung in der ehe ein fleisch worden sein, nicht scheiden mag, weder bann, glaub noch unglaub, zorn, zank, hertigkeit des herzens, ohn allein hurerei.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. Mal. 2,15; Matth. 19,6; Matth. 5,31-32; I. Kor. 7,5; I. Kor. 7,12-14.39; Eph. 5,29; I. Kor. 7,10.

Von der kinderzucht

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das die altern, vatter und mutter, man und weib, von gott gesatzt und sie schuldig seind, ire kinder aufzuziehen und sie leren gott zu forchten und sein gebott zu halten.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. 5 Mos. 6,6-7; I. Mos. 18-19; Ps. 78, 5-7; Spr. 23,13; Sir. 7,23-24; Tob. 1,9-10; Ephes. 6,4; I. Tim. 3,2-4.

Von der kinder gehorsam

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das die kinder auch schuldig sein iren leiblichen altern, vatter und mutter, zu folgen, sie zu horen, inen auch gehorsam und undertenig zu sein und ir altern in ehren zu halten.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. 2. Mos. 20,12; 5. Mos. 5,16; 3. Mos. 19,2-3; Sir. 3,13; Spr. 1,8-9; Spr. 4,3-4; Matth. 15,3-6; Eph. 6,1-3; Kol.3,20; Hebr. 12,7-9; 2. Joh. 1,4.

Von ungehorsamen kindern

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das die ungehorsamen und ungleubige mutwillige kinder, die vatter und mutter nit gehorchen und gottes wort nit folgen wollen, von gott verhast, verflucht und ein greuel sein, derhalben ire altern desto harter mit der straff anhalten sollen und mit allem fleiss und ernst irem unrechten zu wehren.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. 5. Mos. 21,18-24; 2. Mos. 21,17; 5. Mos. 27,16; Spr. 28,24; I. Sam. 3,13; Sir. 26,10; Sir. 42,11; Spr. 30,17; Spr. 20,20; Sir. 16,1-3.

Von jungen kindern

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das die kinder selig sein umb der verheissung willen, so lang sie in der einfalt bleiben und weder guts noch bos erkennen und das inen von Adams oder angeborner sunde nicht zugerechnet wirt, ob sie wol der sundlichen art sein, sonder durch den tod und blutvergiessen Jesu Christi versunet sein.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. 5. Mos. 1,39; 5. Mos. 24,16; Jer. 31, 29-30; Hes. 18, 20; Math. 19,13-14; Luk. 18,15-17; Luk. 9,46-48; Kol. 1,19-20; 1. Joh. 2,2.

Von eigen gutern

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das die neugebornen christen und kinder gottes eigen guter keufen, besitzen und gebruchen mogen, so es inen vergunt wirt, so ferr sie mit absagung besessen werden und den armen dadurch mit beherbergen und handreichung hilf und steur geton wirt.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. I. Mos. 23,17; I. Mos. 33,19; Jer. 32,25; Spr. 16,8; Jes. 58,6-7; Matth. 25,35-40; I. Kor. 7,29-31; Luk. 14,33; 2. Kor. 8,14.11; I. Tim. 6,8-9.17; 2. Joh. 1,10.

Von der armen

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das die gleubigen neugeborenen christen und kinder gottes schuldig sein, ire armen mitglider, glaubensgenossen, alten, kranken, witwen und weisen von irer narung zu erhalten und versorgen, dorzu anderen notdurftigen menschen gemeine liebe zu bewiesen.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. 3. Mos. 25,35; 5. Mos. 15,7-8; Sir. 29,10; Tob. 4,8-10; Jes. 58,7; Rom. 12,20; Luk. 16,9; 2. Kor. 8,14; 1. Joh. 3,17; Jak. 2,15-16.

Von der arbeit

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das die gleubigen neugebornen christen und kinder gottes mit redlicher handarbeit ir tagliche narung suchen und gewinn sollen, den notturftigen mitzuteilen, und nit mit mussiggehender furwitz, kaufmanschaft und unnutzer hantierung.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. Hes. 28,16; Sir. 27,1-2; Sir. 7,15; Apg. 20,33-35; Eph. 4,28; I. Thess. 4,11-12; 2. Thess. 3,11-12; 2. Thess. 3,7-8; Offb. 18,15.

Vom wucher

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das die gleubigen neugebornen christen und auserwelte kinder gottes mit irem gelt nit

wuchern sollen, sondern dormit den armen notturftigen umbsunst behulflich sein, inen zu lihen und geben, und von gott die belohnung erwarten.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. 3. Mos. 25,35-37; 5. Mos. 23,19; Nehem. 5,7.9-10.13; Ps. 15,1-2.5; Jer. 15,10; Hes. 18,12-13; Spr. 28,8; Luk. 6,35.

Von der speis

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das alle creatur, so gott den menschen zur speis geschaffen hat, gut sei und nicht verwerflich dem gleubigen, so ferr sie ohn all ergernus mit danksagung gottes genossen und entfangen wirt.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. I. Mos. 9,3; Math. 15,11; Luk. 10,7; Apg. 10,13.15; Kol. 2,16; Rom. 14,14-15; I. Kor. 8,13; I. Tim. 4,1,3-5; Tit. 1,15.

Von hoffart

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das aller hoffart, stolz und pracht der welt von gott verhast und ein greuel ist. Derhalben die gleubigen neugebornen christen und auserwelten kinder gottes denselben meiden sollen, es sei mit worten, werken, kleidung und geberden.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. Sir. 10,7.9.12; Tob. 4,13 (?) Judith 9,11 (?); Spr. 16,5; Jes. 3,18-23; Jes. 14,11; I. Joh. 2,16; 2 Tim. 3,2; I. Petr. 5,5.

Von dem bann

Wir gleuben, erkennen und bekennen, das die gleubige neugeborne christen und auserwelten kinder gottes den christlichen bann under sich zu gebruchen haben an denen, die unrecht und ergerlich lehren, leben und wandeln, das nit dem evangelio Christi gemess ist.

Zeugnus heiliger schrift. Jos. 7,12; Matth. 18,15-18; I. Kor. 5,2; I. Kor. 5,11-12-13; 2. Thess. 3,6.14; Tit. 3,10-11.

Beschluss

Lassend uns aller dingen summ, beschluss und end horen. Hab gott vor augen und halt seine gebott, den das betrifft alle menschen. Dan gott wirt alle werk und ratschlag urteilen, auch alle heimligkeiten und verborgen ding, sie seien gut order bos. Pred. 12,13-14.

Also redt der herr; gehet auf die strassen, ermassend und erforschend den alten weg und so dis der gut und rechte weg ist, so wandelt darinnen, das ir ruhe findet für eure seel. Jer. 6,16.

Aber gott, dem konig der ewigkeit, dem unzergenglichen und unsichtbarn und allein weisen sei ehr, preiss, lob und dank in ewigkeit zu ewigkeit. Amen. I. Tim. 1,17.

JAKOB GOTTSCHALK AND HIS ANCESTRY

FIRST BISHOP OF THE MENNONITE CHURCH IN AMERICA, 1708-1763

Wilhelm Niepoth

In an article in the *Mennonitisches Lexikon* A. C. Shelly states concerning Jakob Gaedschalk: "He was born at Goch. . . . about 1700 he migrated to America and joined the German settlement at Germantown. Not long afterward he was called to the ministry, and shared the service of this office with the preachers already active there, namely Wilhelm Rittinghausen and Dirck Keyser. Rittinghausen was chosen elder, and Gaetschalk was requested to ordain him, although he was himself not an elder. This was done upon the advice of the church council in Altona on the Elbe, to whom the Germantown congregation had appealed for aid. After Rittinghausen's death in 1708 Gaetschalk was ordained as elder. He performed the first baptism (May 9, 1708) and officiated at the first communion service of the Mennonites in America. He assisted in the translation of Van Braght's *Martyrs' Mirror* from the Dutch into the German, and in its publication by the Ephrata Cloister. He also participated in the preparation of an English edition of a Mennonite catechism. This work was first submitted to his criticism. He died in 1763 at his home in Towamencin, Pa.

W. J. Hull, in his book, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania* (1935), states in "Appendix C, Dutch and German settlers in Germantown, 1683-1709, V, From other places in Germany:"

"Goch: Gottschalk (Gaetschalck), Jacob: in Germantown 1702: a Mennonite teacher, wrote account of Germantown Mennonites: wife a Mennonite member, 1708: (Jacob Gaetschalck)." (Pp. 399 ff.))

C. H. Smith, in his *Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century* (Norristown, Pa., 1929) presents a "Membership list of the Germantown Mennonite church of 1708." At the head of the list stands "Pastor Godschalk."

What conclusions can be drawn from these citations?

a. "Pastor" Gottschalk was of extraordinary significance to the growth and the religious life of the Mennonite church in Germantown and beyond.

b. He was born in Goch, migrated to America from Goch probably during the period of 1700 to 1702, and died there in 1763.

c. The American sources have no information on his life before his emigration (except the place of his birth) or on his ancestry. They state the fact that he was married and his wife was also a Mennonite.

What can be discovered about Jacob Gottschalk in his native land? Goch is a little town in the Lower Rhine region, located on a small stream, the Niers. It earlier belonged to the Duchy of Cleves, where the Mennonites had been tolerated since the beginning of the 17th century.

The only available source for this investigation is the church record of the Mennonite church in Goch, the first entries of which date back to 1658. Anyone transferring from one church to another received from the home church a church letter *(attestatie)*. On June 12, 1701, Jacob Gatschalks and his wife were given such a testimonial by the Mennonite Church at Goch for Pennsylvania. Hence he was still in Goch on that date, but probably emigrated soon afterward; it can therefore be assumed that he arrived in Germantown in the second half of 1701. Thus the time of his migration is approximately fixed. His wife goes with him. The church record lists the marriage of Jacob Godtschalch with Aeltien (Adelheid) Hermans under the date of February 20, 1689.

Aeltien Hermans, the daughter of Herman Davits, was baptized as a Mennonite in Goch on April 7, 1686. Her father had on Jan. 30, 1667, married Trientien (Katharina) Symons. Since girls were baptized at the age of about 18 years, she may, as the first child of her parents, have been born toward the close of 1667 or early in 1668. Earlier ancestors of Jacob's wife are not known.

On the same day as his wife-to-be, Jacob Godtschalck was also baptized; viz., Apr. 7, 1686. Since young men applied for baptism at the age of about 20, he was probably born in 1666. In this baptismal entry his father's name is also given. It was "Gaatschalk Theunissen." Marriages were not entered into the church record until 1661. Since Gaatschalk Theumissen's marriage is not listed, it is safe to assume that he was married before 1661. Thus neither the family name nor the Christian name of Jacob's mother can be learned from it.

Jacob and also his wife have a second name, which is derived from the father's Christian name (a patronymic). This fact leads to the deduction that they were not among the oldest families, and that they did not possess a house or a farm with a hereditary name. The spelling of Jacob's family name varies: Gaatschalcks, Gootschalcks, Godtschalks, rarely Gaetschalks. His given name Jacob

is usually written without the genitive "s." The spelling of names was not yet standardized as it is at the present time.

Jacob did not hold an office in the Mennonite church at Goch; if he had held one it would have been listed in the first part of the book (ordination of preachers, elders, and deacons, 1658-1776). Nor does the record give any information regarding his vocation.

In summary the following can be said: Jacob Gottschalk was apparently born in Goch about 1666, and baptized there as a Mennonite on April 7, 1686. His father was Gottschalk Theunissen. On Feb. 20, 1689, Jacob married Aeltien Hermans, the daughter of Hermann Davits and Trientien Symons, who were married in Goch (as Mennonites) on Jan. 30, 1667. She was born near the close of 1667 or early in 1668 and was also baptized in Goch on Apr. 7, 1686 (as a Mennonite). On June 12, 1701, Jacob Gottschalk received from the Mennonite church in Goch a church letter for his transfer to Pennsylvania, where he presumably arrived before the end of 1701. It is thought that he died in 1763.

Jacob Gottschalk's father's name was Gottschalk Theunissen. (His mother's name is not given in church records of Goch.) In order to carry the investigation further, we give here a list of Gottschalk's children, the result of extensive research: [* = born, † = died]

1. Theunis Gaatschalks *(Goch), about 1653, baptized at Goch (Mennonite) Dec. 24, 1673.
2. Hendrick Gaatschalks *(Goch) about 1658, baptized at Goch (Mennonite) April 8, 1678.
3. Anneken Gaatschalks *(Goch), about 1663, baptized at Emmerich (Mennonite) "from Goch" on Good Friday in 1681; †Goch (Mennonite) Nov. 20, 1733 ("at the age of 70"); married at Goch (Mennonite) Nov. 12, 1690, to Konrad Peters, son of Peter Koenders.
4. Jacob Gaatschalcks *about 1666, baptized at Goch (Mennonite) April 7, 1686.
5. Gerret Gaatschalcks *about 1676, baptized at Goch (Mennonite) April 15, 1696.
6. Jan Gottschalks *about 1684, baptized at Goch (Mennonite) March 16, 1704.
7. Lintie Gootschalks *about 1688, baptized at Goch (Mennonite) March 28, 1706. Married at Goch (Mennonite) August 9, 1712, to Arnold van Kuckhoven.

Since the oldest son was called Theunis, his father's surname Theunissen must be a patronymic, for along the lower Rhine it was

the custom, strictly followed, to give the oldest children the names of grandparents. Hence Gottschalk Theunissen's father's name must have been Theunis (Thonis, Antonius). But which Theunis was he?

In the period before 1650 only one Theunis is mentioned in the Goch church records, namely Theunis Biermans (No. 32 and 33) on Jan. 6, and June 30, 1649, who as the former city treasurer appears before the alderman in the name of the Mennonite church. In a record of July 4, 1621, a Hendrich Biermans is mentioned. It would be easy to assume that this Theunis Biermans is the father and Hendrich Biermans the grandfather of Gottschalk Theunissen, especially since the two oldest sons of Gottschalk were named Theunis and Hendrick. On Sept. 6, 1665, Baarent Biermans is married in Goch (Mennonite) and on Aug. 30, 1671, Derck Biermens, both of whom are not mentioned again except that on Sept. 29, 1702, Baarent receives a church letter for Haarlem. There is no reason not to consider them the sons of Theunis Biermans. But then the question arises, why did these two brothers carry their hereditary family name, whereas Gottschalk carries a patronymic? Consideration of this question makes the descent of Gottschalk Theunissen from Theunis Biermans very doubtful. It will be necessary to go further back for illumination of this question.

a. In the second record book of the Mennonite church in Goch (1730-1798) there is an entry: "On May 7, 1734, a son named Everwyn Gaatschalck was born to this Henderk Gaatschalk van der Heggen." (The last three words are for some reason crossed out in the record). This Henderk Gaatschalk is a son of the Hendrick Gaatschalk who was baptized in 1678, and a grandson of Gottschalk Theunissen. The significance of the part of the name crossed out becomes clear through the following observations:

b. Another son of the Hendrick who was baptized in 1678, Gootschalk Gootschalks, died in Goch (Mennonite) on November 21, 1751, as "Gottschalk von der Hegge." The identity of this Gootschalk Gootschalks with Gootschalk von der Hegge must be proved.

On February 12, 1733, the following birth entry is made:

"Anna, Gaatschalk von der Hegge daughter." When she was baptized April 11, 1756, she is called "Anna Gaatschalks, daughter of Gotschalk van der Hegge," This Anna Gaatschalks was married in Crefeld (Mennonite) in 1772 to Andries Scherpenhausen. When she died, August 21, 1803, her mother's name is listed as Margarete Kuhnen in the civil register on the "third of Fructidor in the year IX of the French Republic." Gootshalk Gootschalks had married

Crytie Koenders in Goch (Mennonite), December 10, 1718. Grytie is the dialect form of Margarete. Grytie was the daughter of Konrad Peters and Anneken Gaatschalkx (cf. the third of Gottschalk Theunissen's children) and married her first cousin. (Konrad was born in the vicinity of Gladbach.) Grytie Koenders thus carried as her second name her father's given name. The shortened form of Konrad is Koender, Koen, Kuhn, Kühn. Instead of Koenders she can also be called Koenen or Kuhnen. Thus if Grytie Koenders is identical with Margarete Kuhnen, then Gootschalk Gootschalks, her husband, is identical with Gottschalk von der Hegge.

c. Jan Gottschalks, the youngest son of Gootschalk Theunissen, married in Crefeld as his second wife Gertrud Hermanns Kannen (all of whose ancestors came from M. Gladbach). When she died she was listed in the necrology of the Mennonite church in Crefeld, Dec. 18, 1772, as "Geertruid Hermans, widow of Jan Godschalk," and in the necrology of the Reformed church as "widow of Jan Godschalks, Gerdr. von der Hecken." Obviously the name von der Hecken is not hers. The neighbors who reported her death evidently conferred upon her the second name of her husband and his progenitors.

d. In the inheritance record of the court (Schöffengericht) in Gladbach we read that on Feb. 1, 1668, "Gotschalck Thonisz Lehntgen Henrichs married couple . . . sold their maternal inheritance in Hegger in der Alst" for 234 Talers. A Gootschalk Thonis thus sells his inherited part in the Heggerhof (an der Hegge) in der Alst, a part of the village (Honschaft) Damm near München-Gladbach. This Gottschalk is presumably a Mennonite. Upon the order of the Elector Palatine, who was also Duke of Jülich, the Mennonites had to leave the country in 1654. Since München-Gladbach belonged to the Jülich domain, the Mennonites living there were also hit by this law. They were permitted to sell their property. Because so much property was offered for sale it could be disposed of only gradually, and the sale dragged on into the eighteenth century.

The coincidence of the name of Gottschalk Thonis with that of Gottschalk Theunissen in Goch is significant. Furthermore, the sale of the Hegger inheritance in Munchen-Gladbach-Alst explains how the descendants of Gottschalk Theunissen acquired the name "von der Hegge." Jan and Gootschalk Gaatschalks are married into families who were resident in Gladbach and its vicinity before the order of expulsion in 1654. It was recalled that the ancestors of the Gaatschalks had lived "an Hegger," and had a claim on the estate, and could thus in accord with the custom, be called by the name of the

estate. Since, however, they had been compelled to leave the estate, they could no longer carry its name as their own, and they adopted and kept the patronymic. The use of the name von der Hegge referring to the descendants of Gottschalk Theuniss is a gentle reminder of times long past. It is therefore crossed out in recording the birth of the son of the younger Henrich in 1734, since it had become invalid.

It can now be asserted with a high degree of certainty that Gottschalk Theunissen in Goch is identical with the Gottschalk Thonisz mentioned in 1668 in the inheritance record in Gladbach. This would be a certain fact if the phrase "of Goch" had been added to the Gladbach record. Unfortunately the inheritance books are greatly abbreviated copies of the original, in which essentials were often simply omitted. It is, however, a known fact that during the period of persecution Gladbach Mennonites moved to Goch.

How did the progenitors of Gottschalk obtain possession of the hereditary estate an der Hegge? This question is also answered in the Gladbach inheritance records. On March 25, 1596, "Veit in der Hecken Trien uxor" sells to "Gottschalck Komes Veit uxor . . . his hereditary right and property in the Hecken estate in the Honschaft Damm. . . ."

This is a decisive point. Gottschalk Thonisz is descended from the Gladbach Mennonite family Komes (Comis). This follows from the circumstances relating to the possession of the estate in der Hecken (Hegge, Hecker) in München-Gladbach, which Gottschalk Komes acquired in 1596, and of which Gottschalk Thonisz had to sell his portion in 1668. Also the name Gottschalk points to this, since it is an outstanding name in the successive generations of the Comes family, whereas it does not occur at all in the Bierman family in Goch. Gottschalk Komes is evidently the grandfather of Gottschalk Thonis.

Before we go any further with the Comes family in München-Gladbach, let us return to Gottschalk Theunissen in Goch and to his son Jacob Gottschalk in Germantown. The former never used the second name of von der Hegge, so far as the records go. How about his son, Jacob?

In Hull we read in "Appendix C. Dutch and German Settlers in Germantown (1683-1709)" under "II. From unstated places in Holland and Germany":

Heggen, Goldschalk von der: son of Jacob;† (Goetschalck von der Heggen).

Heggen, Jacob van der;† (———— van der Heggen)."

Jacob van der Heggen is clearly our Pastor Jacob Gottschalk. We shall now attempt to prove his identity.

a. Hull names a Jacob, who had a son Gottschalk. In accord with the strict family naming tradition, Jacob Gottschalk must have named his son if he had one, after his father Gottschalk Theunissen.

b. In the Gaatschalk family the second name "van der Hegge" appears repeatedly during the 18th century, going back to the original residence "Heggerhof" at München-Gladbach-Alst. If, then, other descendants of Gottschalk Thonis bear this second name, there is no reason why Jacob should not also have used it. But Hull treats Jacob Gottschalk and Jacob van der Heggen as two persons. How can we explain that he did not recognize that they are one and the same person?

a. In section No. 1 above we reported the passage in Hull's Appendix C referring to Jacob Gottschalk of Goch. We must now refer to the two reference marks and the parenthetical name found at the end of the passage, for they are now quite important. Hull's explanation (p. 400) of the marks is as follows: "*Signifies that the children attended the Germantown Friends School. †Signifies that the person listed was naturalized (under the name following in the parenthesis, in 1709, in accordance with an act which is given, infra pp.)" The asterisk, then, attached to Jacob Gottschalk's name proves that he had children, whereas such a mark is missing for Jacob von der Heggen, apparently because Hull found no names of von der Heggen children on the list of pupils in the school. But he claims that Jacob van der Heggen had a son named Gottschalk who should have been able to go to school at the age of barely 12 years, if Jacob von der Heggen and Jacob Gottschalk are identical. Since Jacob Gottschalk was married in February, 1689, his son could scarcely have been born before the end of the year 1689, and it would be strange if he had not had additional children. So it is noteworthy that Hull knows of no children of school age of Jacob van der Heggen.

b. The second point worthy of note is that the name "von der Heggen" does not appear in the "membership list of the Germantown Mennonite Church of 1708" (Smith, p. 96). True, Jacob van der Hegge might have joined the Quakers, but Hull, who is fully acquainted with the Quaker sources would have known and mentioned this. We presume therefore that the name does not appear in the Quaker meeting records.

c. How does Hull know in any case that Goetschalk von der Heggen is the son of Jacob van der Heggen. On the naturalization

list his name appears as "Goetschalk von der Heggen." If he had registered as Goetschalk Jacobs von der Heggen, we would know who his father was. But this is not the case. Perhaps Hull found this latter form of the full name somewhere. The matter becomes still more dubious when we notice the name "———— von der Heggen," which appears after the mark †. But why is the Christian name missing? It would have been a most unusual case had the man himself or the clerk written his name in this fashion at the naturalization court, for all the other names appear with Christian names. The Christian name was more important in those days than the family name. The alphabetical name lists in the archives for instance are arranged according to the Christian names as late as the beginning of the 18th century.

It is regrettable that this matter cannot be clarified at this distance in Germany. A photostatic copy would help. The case is probably to be explained as follows: In the 1709 list the name of Jacob Goetschalk von der Heggen appears; further down the list, Goetschalk von der Heggen. Hull possibly made two names of the one Jacob Goetschalk von der Heggen: Jacob Gaetschalk and ————von der Heggen. He knows no Christian name for the second, because there is none. There is, however, still no further light on why Hull calls Gottschalk's father Jacob.

d. Someone might, however, object that Gottschalk, as the son of Jacob Gottschalks, could scarcely have been naturalized in 1709, if Jacob Gaetschalck and Jacob von der Heggen are the same person; since he would have been only 19 or 20 years old. Two answers can be given to this objection. First, Gottschalk could have been baptized by 1709 and accordingly have been capable of naturalization. In Lower Rhine cities, such as Krefeld, for instance, a father could include his children in his naturalization even if only a year old, in which case the names of the sons are always listed. In the second place, since it is not clear whether Hull's list consists exclusively of names naturalized in 1709, it is possible that a few names of later naturalization could have been added. Both what has just been said about the naturalization lists, and the name "Jacob Gottschalks (von der Heggen)" need to be checked with the sources. The writer is convinced, however, that the two Jacobs listed by Hull are the one and the same Pastor Jacob Gottschalk, who carried, like his relatives in the homeland, the second name "von der Heggen." It is therefore not surprising, that Hull does not know either whence or when Jacob von der Heggen and his

son migrated to America, and simply lists them under the heading "From unstated places in Holland or Germany."

If, then, the identity of Gottschalk Theunissen in Goch with the Gottschalk Thonis who in 1668 appears the seller of a family inheritance in Gladbach is accepted as proved, and if the birth of Jacob Gottschalk is set at about 1666, then the "Lehntgen Henrichs" who is named in 1668 as the wife of Gottschalk Thonis is Jacob's mother. Unfortunately we do not know the Christian names of the other children of Jacob. They could scarcely have been baptized in Goch, since he emigrated in 1701. If he had named a daughter Lehntgen according to the strict custom of repeating names from grandmother to granddaughter, then it would be proved beyond a shadow of a doubt that his mother was called Lehntgen. Since we do not know his children's names, we must follow a detour via the children of his brothers and sisters.

(a) Theunis has a son by his first wife named Derck, and by his second wife a daughter Katherine and a son Heinrich. The sons carry the names of the fathers of the wives. Nothing can be inferred, therefore, from these names as to the mother's name. The reader who misses the names Gottschalk and Lehntgen among the children of Theunis should remember that the names of those children who died young, or were baptized in other places such as in Holland, cannot be determined, since the church book of the Goch Mennonite congregation lists no births in the first decades.

(b) The children of Hendrick are called Gaatschalk, Hendrick, Helena, and Leentie. Here the same feminine name seems to appear twice, but it must be remembered that Lientie may be an abbreviation for either Helena or Magdalene.

(c) Anneken Gottschalkx (M. to Konrad Peters) had a daughter named Helena Koenders, born February, 1701.

(d) Gerret apparently had no children, since he married a woman of 45.

(e) Jan Gottschalks in Krefeld had only two children: Gertrud and Gottschalk.

(f) The youngest sister of Jacob, Lientie, married to Arnold van Kuekhoven, had four children: Hendrik, Gerret, Maria and Gertrud.

If we now review the dates of baptism of the seven known children of Gottschalk, as they appear at the beginning of section No. 3 above, it is clear that not all the children could have come from one wife. From the names of the daughters of Jans and Lientiens it appears that their mother must have been a Gertrud,

who would then have been the mother of the last three children. The four older children would then have been those of the first wife, Lehntgen Henrichs. This deduction is further supported by the fact that Hendrick and Anneken Gottschalkx had a daughter named "Leentie" and that Hendrick carries the name of the grandfather on the mother's side. It is also to be noted that Gottschalk gave his youngest daughter Lientie, the name of his first wife, a custom much practiced in those days.

Since the family name of Gottschalk's wife, Henrichs, is obviously a patronymic, her father must have been a "Heinrich." Perhaps her parents are the persons named in the list of Mennonites in M. Gladbach in 1654 (Staatsarchiv Düsseldorf, Jülich-Berg II 252) under "Hatterbruch" (No. 96): "Hendrich Wilhelms Entgen Eheleute haben eine Behausung und 4 Morgen Erbs im Dahlener Kirspel, ernährt sich des Weberhandwerks, haben 4 kinder. . . ." The names Hendrich and Entgen (Anneken, Anna) appear again in the children of Gottschalk Theunissen. Since there is no absolute proof in the sources for the assumption that this couple were the parents of Lehntgen, we list them as such with a question.

When were Gottschalk Thonis and Lehntgen Henrichs married? In the list of Gladbach Mennonites referred to above, the following item appears: "Lurrip (No. 33) Hauss Newes Treintgen Eheleut . . . haben. . . 1 Knecht gnant Gottschalk, in der Alst bürdig, unserer Religion." Without doubt this "servant" is Gottschalk Tonis, who was a resident of Goch after 1654. He was accordingly born at Alst, where the farm called "in der Hegge" was located. So his father must have lived on this farm when Gottschalk was born. Since Gottschalk was a "servant" in 1654 he must have been unmarried when the list was prepared, which was shortly after the edict of the government requiring it, which was dated April 16, 1654. Shortly after this date Gottschalk must have married. A later date is not possible, since his oldest son Theunis, who was baptized late in 1673, must have been born at the latest in 1655, for the earliest possible baptismal age was 18. So we accept 1654 as the year of marriage of the parents, and 1655 as the birth year for the oldest son. The approximate birth years of the remaining children are calculated from the baptismal dates. These birth years are only approximations which need to be fixed within certain limits to avoid other errors. A gap of ten years appears between the baptisms of Jacob Gottschalks (1686) and his half brother Gerret (1696). We must conclude that Lehntgen Henrichs died before 1676, the probable birth year of Gerret, and that

Gottschalk Theunissen married a second time during this interval. If Lehntgen was married in 1654, she was probably born about 1630, her husband possibly five years earlier. Gottschalk Theunissen must have died after Jan. 25, 1709, since his name appears in a document of this date.

In summary we have now learned the following about Jacob Gottschalk's father. Gottschalk Theunissen was born 1625-30 at the Heckerhof, München-Gladbach-Alst, as the son of a certain Thonis. In 1654 he was a servant of Hans Newes. In the same year, he married Lehntgen Henrichs, who was probably the daughter of Henrich Wilhelms and Entgen of M. Gladbach-Harterbroich. She was born about 1630 and died before 1676, was the mother of four recorded children, the oldest of whom was Jacob Gottschalk (van der Heggen), who was born in Goch about 1666, whither Gottschalk Theunissen had fled from Gladbach in 1654. Gottschalk Theunissen probably was married a second time to Gertrud———, and died after Jan. 25, 1709.

Since the father of Gottschalk Thonis was called Thonis and comes from the Mennonite family Comes, the following entry of 1654 probably refers to him. "Obergeburt (133). Thoenisz Comes Oelletgen Eheleute haben ein klein Behausung mit 1½ Morgen Lands und 5 Morgen Pesch (Wald), ⅛ Morgen Bend (Wiese); ernährt sich mit Leinenweben und Handel-haben 5 Kinder." Obergeburt is a small village (Honschaft) northwest of Gladbach, whereas Alst and Damm lie east of the city. In 1654 the farm "in der Hegge" was occupied by a certain Coen Hecken, his wife Entgen and one child. Entgen can be identified as the daughter of Thonis Komes. The parents have a son named Thonis, whom I have identified through lengthy research which need not be reported here, as the emigrant Thonis Koenders of 1683 (Germantown). Thus Thones Kunders and Jacob Gottschalk were first cousins. Jacob's decision to emigrate may be attributed in part at least to the influence of his cousin who had gone before.

When Gottschalk Theunissen was born, his father Thonis Comes lived on the farm at Alst. He apparently gave this farm after the death of his father about 1652, to his daughter Entgen and her husband, whereas he himself with his wife Oelletgen took over the family homestead at Obergeburt. The father of this Thonis Comes can be no one else but Gottschalk Comes, concerning whom the Gladbach Inheritance Record (Erbbuch) reports the following under date of October 7, 1606: "Here appear Thonnis Comis, Jan an der Heiden and Jan aufm Kleuter, as guardians of

and nearest relatives of the children of Gottschalk Comes, which 2 children are the legitimate children of his marriage with Vitgen an der Heiden. . . ." This is the identical Gottschalk Comes, who on March 25, 1596, with his wife Veit (Sophie) bought the farm at Damm called "the Heckengut." If Gottschalk Thonis was born 1625-30, his father Thonis Comes would have been born 1596-1600, since his parents were already married in 1596. His father Gottschalk Comes would then have been born about 1562. His wife, Vitgen an der Heiden, was dead by October 7, 1606, leaving 2 children, one of whom was Tonis Comes, the father of Gottschalk Theunissen in Goch. Thonnis Comes, the first named guardian in the entry in the Gladbach Inheritance Record of October 7, 1606, was probably the grandfather of the children, therefore the father of Gottschalk Comes. He had gradually acquired from his brothers and sisters their shares of inheritance in the family homestead, the Comeshof at Venn (a small locality belonging to the village of Obergeburt) according to the following entries: Jan. 17, 1587. "Claess Wolters an der Heiden Giertgen Eheleute . . . Thonissen Komes Giertgen Eheleuten . . . ihr Quot des Comes Erbs am Verun" bought for 375 Taler, and on March 30, 1607, "Godtschalck Dederichs Merg Eheleute Thonissen Comis Giertgen seine Hausfrau sein Godtschalken mütterlich Kindgeteils des Comis Hofs, Erb und Guts, wie derselb an gen Venne Gelegen . . . für 737½ Taler Gladbacher Währung." Thones Comes, Giertgen, the wife of Claes Wolters listed in 1622 as the preacher of the Gladbach Mennonite congregation, and the mother of Gottschalk Dederichs, were all brothers and sisters. Since all three had a son named Gottschalk, their father must also have been called Gottschalk.

If Gottschalk Komes, Jr., was born about 1565, then his father would have been born about 1510. Thoniss Komes, Sr., is identical with the preacher of that name who signed the Concept of Cologne on May 1, 1591, "de Artyckelen des Geloofs in'ts Concept van Ceulen van wegen der Gemeynte tot Gladback." Rembert in his *Geschichte der Wiedertäufer im Herzogtum Jülich,* read the name erroneously "Teunis Cornes," and others have followed him. He was Elder of the Mennonite Church in M. Gladbach and served the church, as did many of his descendants. For instance, Teunus Gaatschalk was chosen preacher in 1682 to serve the Goch congregation, and his brother Hendrick Gaatschalk was chosen deacon at Goch in 1715. The grandson of Thoniss Komes, Jacob Gottschalk served the Mennonite Church in Germantown as pastor.

NOTE: The following data from N. B. Grubb's *A Genealogical History of the Gottschall Family Descendants of the Rev. Jacob Gottschall* (1924) casts light on some of the unsolved questions raised by Mr. Niepoth. On page 15 it is reported that the will of Jacob Gottschalk was drawn in 1760 and that Jacob himself died in 1763. His wife died before 1706. On page 16 the five children of Jacob Gottschall are listed as follows: Gottshall (d. 1748), John (d. 1754), Herman, Anna, and Magdalena. Gottshall Gottshall had 14 children whose names in order are: Jacob, Syken, Mary, Margaret, Garret, Jane, Magdalena, Gertrude, John, Ann, Eva, Peter. [*H. S. Bender.*]

JACOB GOTTSCHALK'S DIRECT MALE ANCESTRAL LINE.

*—born †—died ‡—married

I. *(Gottschalk Comes.* * (M. Gladbach-Venn) about 1510. † (M. Gladbach-Venn) before 1/17/1587.

II. *Thonis Comes.* * (M. Gladbach-Venn) about 1535. Mennonite. As representative of the München-Gladbach Mennonite Congregation he signed the Concept of Cologne on May 1, 1591. Between 1587 and 1607 he acquired the entire farm known as the "Comis-Hof" in M. Gladbach-Venn.

III. *Gottschalk Comis.* * (M. Gladbach-Venn) about 1565. He acquired in 1596 the farm known as the "Heckengut" in the "Alst" near M. Gladbach.

IV. *Thones Comes.* * (M. Gladbach-Venn or Alst) about 1596. Mennonite. Lived about 1625 on the "Heckenhof" in the "Alst," later (1654) on the "Comishof" in "Venn." Weaver and cloth-merchant. Driven from M. Gladbach in 1654, he apparently moved to Goch. † . . . before 2/1/1668.

V. *Gottschalk Thonis (Theunissen).* * M. Gladbach-Alst about 1625. Mennonite in Goch. † Goch after 1/25/1709. ‡ 1654 *Lehntgen Henrichs* * (M. Gladbach-Harterbroich) about 1630. Perhaps a daughter of Henrich Wilhelms and Entgen Henrichs. † Goch at the latest in 1676.

VI. *Jakob Godtschalk* * (Goch) about 1666. Baptized at Goch (Mennonite) 4/7/1686. On June 11, 1701 received a church letter from Goch for the migration to Pennsylvania. Pastor and Bishop of the Mennonite Church in Germantown. Also called "van der Heggen." † Towamencin, Montgomery County, Pa. . . 1763. ‡ Goch (Mennonite 2/20/1689 Aeltien (-Adelheid) Hermans, daughter of Herman Davits and Trientien Symons (‡ Goch Mennonite 1/31/1667) * (Goch) End 1667/beginning 1668. Baptized at Goch (Mennonite) 4/7/1686.

VII. *Gottschalk von der Heggen* in Germantown. Son of Jacob Gottschalk. * Goch, End of 1689/beginning of 1690.

PUBLICATION AND RESEARCH PROJECTS IN ANABAPTIST-MENNONITE HISTORY

I. THE TÄUFER-AKTEN PUBLICATION SERIES OF THE SOCIETY FOR REFORMATION HISTORY

The Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, a German learned society, founded in 1883, undertook in the period following the first World War, the publication of all the documents in the German language area of Europe bearing on the history of the Anabaptist movement from its beginning in 1525 down to the Thirty Years War (1618). This great undertaking was made possible by the grant of a generous subsidy from the Prussian State. Attempts to secure financial support in America failed. Unfortunately the inflation of the German currency in 1922-23 reduced the amount of the subsidy so much that the project was handicapped from the beginning. In spite of this, the editors for the various projected volumes were chosen, and the majority of assignments were completed before the second World War, although only three volumes were actually published. Only one of these, Vol. I. *Herzogtum Württemberg,* prepared by Pastor Gustav Bossert, a stately volume published in 1930, appeared in full size according to plan with documents *in extenso,* although even this volume was not exhaustive. Vol. II, *Bayern,* 1. *Teil, Markgraftum Brandenburg-Anspach,* prepared by Dr. Karl Schornbaum of Nürnberg, published in 1934, and Vol. III, *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter,* prepared by Dr. Lydia Müller and published in 1938, were completed to appear largely in extract form, and were still less exhaustive than Vol. I. The publisher of these three volumes, M. Hensius—Paul Eger Nachfolger in Leipzig, who was the publisher for all the publications of the VRG, being now in the Russian Zone and operating only on a restricted basis, surrendered his publication rights in 1947. He has probably one hundred copies of each of the first three volumes in stock, which the VRG hopes to make available for sale.

Several additional *Täufer-Akten* volumes were completed in manuscript but never published since even the reduced subsidy from the Prussian state was finally cancelled, and the resources of the VRG were too slender to continue without outside help, which was not forthcoming in adequate amount although the Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein (founded by Christian Hege) made a small annual cash grant of 200 Marks for this purpose from 1937 to 1942. The following volumes were completed in manuscript before World

War II. 1) A second volume of Hutterite documents prepared by the late Dr. Lydia Müller, now in the hands of her nephew, Pastor Ludwig Miller; 2) a volume on Alsace prepared by the late Pastor J. Adam of Dorlisheim near Strasburg; 3) a volume on "Baden und Pfalz" prepared by Archivrat Dr. Manfred Krebs, of the Landesarchiv, Karlsruhe; 4) a volume on Switzerland prepared by Professor Leonhard von Muralt, Zürich. In addition to these four completely prepared volumes, the first of which, however, is still in unknown hands in the Russian Zone of Germany, other volumes were in progress but not yet completed. Pastor Gustav Bossert, Jr., Stuttgart, who did the final editorial work on the first volume of Württemberg documents (1930) prepared by his father, Gustav Bossert, Sr., had assembled considerable material on the projected second Württemberg volume, but died in the summer of 1948 before his work was completed. Dr. Robert Friedmann of Vienna, now of Kalamazoo, Michigan, who had been assigned the Hutterite epistles, had made transcripts of some 60 epistles which he still possesses. Dr. Schornbaum's original complete transcripts of the Brandenburg-Anspach documents may still be available in the hands of publisher Eger and could thus be printed in full if desired. The late Pastor Karl Wotschke, who had been assigned the volume on Silesia, no doubt had assembled some material. It is hoped that his widow in Eisenach can give further information concerning his work. Professor Goeters, formerly of Bonn, now at Wickrath-Berg, apparently was unable to undertake his original assignment of the volume on the Lower Rhine region. A second volume on Bavaria, assigned to Dr. Schornbaum, was intended to contain the documents of the five former imperial cities of Regensburg, Rothenburg, Kaufbeuren, Nördlingen, and Schweinfurt. Three further volumes for Bavaria would be required to complete the publication of the large number of Anabaptist documents in this region, viz., Vol. III, Nürnberg and Augsburg, Vol. IV, the Franconian bishoprics, Eichstätt, Bamberg, and Würzburg, and Vol. V, "Die ober-und niederbayrischen geistlichen und weltlichen Territorien."

When it became fully clear after the close of World War II that the VRG would be unable to continue and complete the original Täufer-Akten undertaking, the Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, encouraged by the prospect of American Mennonite financial aid, and stimulated by the initiative and urgings of Pastor Eberhard Teufel of Stuttgart, decided at its annual meeting in May, 1948, to undertake the project with the consent of the VRG. Initial investigations looking toward this end had been made by Pastor

Teufel and Dr. H. S. Bender, who conferred with Schornbaum, Krebs, and Bossert, and determined that these remaining active German members of the original editorial group were eager to complete the project. Negotiations with Prof. Dr. Heinrich Bornkamm of Heidelberg, the remaining active executive officer of the VRG, revealed that this organization was willing to co-operate fully with any plan that had promise of success.

The procedure set up by the MGV for the revived Täufer-Akten project was the creation of a Täufer Akten-Kommission to be composed of three representatives of the MGV and two of the VRG. The two societies are to function as joint publishers of the remainder of the series which will appear under the slightly revised title, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer (Täufer* instead of *Wiedertäufer)*. The VRG will make available all its completed and partially completed manuscripts, and the MGV will endeavor to furnish the necessary finances through its American Mennonite connections.

The TAK was formally organized at a meeting in Heidelberg on July 5, 1948, as follow: Chairman, Dr. Ernst Crous (MGV); Vice-Chairman, Prof. Heinrich Bornkamm (VRG); Secretary, Pastor Eberhard Teufel (MGV); Treasurer, Prof. H. S. Bender (MVG); and a fifth member to be appointed by the VRG. It was decided that the series should contain the following volumes: I, Baden and Pfalz, editor Dr. Manfred Krebs; II, Alsace, editor Dr. Krebs; III, Bavaria II, editor Dr. Karl Schornbaum; IV, Württemberg II, editor Pastor Eberhard Teufel; V, VI, and VII, Bavaria III, IV, and V, editor Dr. Karl Schornbaum; VIII, the second volume of Lydia Müller's Hutterite documents if available; IX, Hutterite epistles, editor Prof. Robert Friedmann; X, Silesia, the documents prepared by Pastor Wotschke if available; XI, The Lower Rhine documents, editor to be chosen. Commitments by the prospective editors have actually been secured only for the first four volumes. The first volume is now ready for the printer and it is hoped that the typesetting can begin soon. Professor Bender is seeking to raise the necessary finances in America on a ten-year basis, with a budget of approximately $1,000 per volume above income from sales. As soon as the finances are in hand the printing of the first volume will begin.

It will be noted that the volume on Switzerland is omitted from the above series. This is due to the fact that Professor von Muralt has been able to secure a publisher in Switzerland who is willing to undertake the project with the aid of a generous subsidy by the town of Zollikon, the seat of the first Anabaptist congregation in 1525,

and the assurance of certain sales in the United States. Professor von Muralt plans four smaller volumes: I, Zurich; II, Eastern Switzerland; and III, Bern, and IV, the Bern Disputation of 1538.

It will also be noted that no provision is made in the above series for the publication of the Anabaptist documents of Hesse. This was never in the plan of the original VRG project, since the "Historiche Kommission für Hessen und Waldeck" had already undertaken the publication of the Hesse documents as its own project more than 40 years ago. The editing of these documents, first begun by Dr. Walter Sohm and Dr. Walter Köhler, was completed in 1948 by Pastor Theodor Sippell of Marburg. The final preparation of the volume for the press is in the hands of Dr. Günther Franz. The Historical Commission for Hesse and Waldeck, under the leadership of its chairman, Prof. Dr. Edmund Stengel, decided to undertake the publication of this volume on the basis of an agreement negotiated with Professor Bender in the spring of 1948, whereby American Mennonites would furnish the necessary printing paper and three fourths of the cost of the printing in return for the assignment of a quantity of copies of the printed volume for sale in America. Since the negotiation of the original agreement, the currency reform in Germany has so depleted the slender resources of the Historical Commission that according to the statement of its chairman, publication can proceed only if American friends furnish the entire printing cost instead of only three fourths as planned.

The American organization for the financing of the Hesse Täufer-Akten has been completed, with the historical committees of the two largest branches of American Mennonites, The Mennonite Church and the General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America, jointly undertaking the task. The organization for the larger project of the complete Täufer-Akten series is not yet fully developed, but it is expected that a committee will be set up for this purpose shortly.

The publication of the Anabaptist documents of the 16th century as envisaged in the above plans is an enterprise of the greatest importance not only to Anabaptist historiography but to Church History as a whole. After centuries of neglect and even abuse, the Anabaptist movement is coming into its own in the modern understanding of the history of the Christian Church particularly in the Reformation period. The comprehensive and exhaustive account of the movement which is so urgently needed, and which is essential for a final evaluation of Anabaptism, awaits the publication of these

documents. It would be a tragedy if the publication should be so long delayed that the few remaining scholars of the old school who are thoroughly familiar with the archival sources and both able and willing to do the arduous and thankless labor of transcribing and editing, should die before the consummation of the project, or if a third World War should intervene to destroy the now prepared manuscripts and the unedited materials remaining in the archives.

It is a matter of prime responsibility for the Mennonites of North America to make this publication financially possible, but it is to be hoped that the support of other American groups or organizations now subsidizing historical research and publication may also be secured.

With the kind consent of the Historische Kommission für Hessen and Waldeck, one of the most interesting Hesse documents, a confession of the Swiss Brethren in Hesse from the year 1578, is published in the current issue of the Review, as an illustration of the value of the publication of the entire Täufer-Akten materials.

I wish to express my deep appreciation to Pastor Teufel for his vision and vigorous initiative which proved to be the true occasion for the revival of the entire Täufer-Akten publication program at this time. [*Harold S. Bender*]

II THE MENNONITISCHES LEXIKON

One of the greatest enterprises of Mennonite historical scholarship is the *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* an encyclopedia of the Anabaptist-Mennonite movement from its beginning in 1525 to the present day, covering all countries to which the movement has spread. An invaluable mine of information, thorough, authentic, comprehensive, it is an indispensable tool for students of Anabaptist-Mennonite history and a landmark in Mennonite historiography. Dr. Christian Neff (1863-1946) of Weierhof in the Palatinate, Germany, and Christian Hege (1869-1943) of Frankfurt, Germany, the founders and co-editors of the Lexikon until their death, and writers of a majority of the articles, served also as publishers. The two men formed a splendid team, with Hege the managing editor, carrying on together with great devotion and sacrifice for over thirty years, until death called them both from their unfinished task. As they worked, what had been originally planned in 1913 as a two-volume work to be completed in ten years, grew into a three volume work, each volume containing fifteen installments of 48 pages each, of which two volumes and six additional

installments (36 altogether) had appeared by 1941, through the letter "N."

During the thirty years of their endeavor, the courage and faith of the editors of the *Lexikon* were put to tests and disappointments which would have broken lesser men. With but slender resources of their own, and compelled to pay for most of the contributed articles in accord with European custom, they had to depend heavily on advance subscriptions and on donations from churches and interested groups and individuals. The Dutch Mennonites, who had the wealth and might have aided the enterprise strongly, failed to do so. The Russian Mennonite churches, which were among the heaviest original supporters, were early eliminated as a result of the first World War, which broke out less than fifteen months after the first installment appeared in May, 1913. The German currency inflation of 1922-1923 was a heavy blow. If it had not been for direct financial assistance from friends in the United States and Canada at that time, the enterprise would have failed financially. When Hege lost his private income (except for a small pension) as financial writer on a Frankfurt newspaper in 1943, the German Mennonites, primarily through the organization known as "Mennonitisches Hilfswerk Christenpflicht" came to the rescue with a regular, though slender, monthly stipend to enable Hege to continue his editorial work unhindered for the remaining years of his life.

World War II was the final catastrophe. Both men sacrificed practically all their personal resources to keep the *Lexikon* going, and upon their decease no resources were available to continue the unfinished project. Many of the original contributors had died in the course of the 35 years since 1913, and a number of the promising younger German Mennonite scholars fell on the battlefields of the second World War. The end of the war left the German Mennonites in a seriously weakened state, financially and otherwise. A great work seemed destined to remain incomplete, although approximately seventy-five per cent of the remaining articles from "O" to "Z" as planned by the original editors, had been assembled in wholly or partially complete manuscript form, and a considerable body of notes intended for the supplementary volume of revisions and additions had also been gathered, all of which fortunately survived the devastation of war, since Hege had retired from Frankfurt to the relative security of Eichstätt in central Bavaria, and Neff remained in the rather remote village of Weierhof in the Palatinate.

At this stage, in 1945-46, soon after the close of the War, the American Mennonite scholars and publishers interested in the publication of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* drew up plans which included sufficient financial and moral support to make possible the completion of the *Lexikon* in a reasonable time, provided German Mennonite scholars would resume the leadership in the project laid down by Hege and Neff. The *Mennonite Encyclopedia* organization offered to furnish the paper for printing and whatever financial subsidy was needed, in return for translation rights in the English language. Fortunately Dr. H. S. Bender, as the representative of the Encyclopedia was able to negotiate such an agreement in September, 1946, in Germany with the then surviving editor and publisher, Dr. Christian Neff, before he died, and with the surviving heir of the late Christian Hege, his daughter Adele Hege of Eichstätt. Dr. Bender, one of the co-editors of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* was designated by Dr. Neff to be co-editor of the *Lexikon* in place of Hege. Upon the death of Neff in December, 1946, Dr. Ernst Crous, a German Mennonite scholar, formerly librarian in the Prussian state Library in Berlin, now living in retirement in Göttingen, Germany, was designated to be the successor of Dr. Neff as the other co-editor.

The new editors of the *Lexikon* were able, aided by Dr. Bender's residence in Europe during the period from June, 1947, to July, 1948, to develop the necessary organization and provisions to make possible the completion of the *Lexikon* within a few years, provided no new emergency such as a third World War should intervene. Since the editors were unable to finance the enterprise themselves and therefore could not serve as publishers as their predecessors had done, they secured the agreement of the two Mennonite church conferences in Germany to take over this function. This was done through the creation of a "Lexikon Committee" composed of six men, viz., the two editors, plus one official representative of each conference, Pastor A. Braun, Ibersheim, for the Vereinigung der Deutschen Mennoniten-Gemeinden, and Elder Fritz Hege, Reutlingen, for the Badisch-Württembergisch-Bayrisch Gemeindeverband, and two co-opted members, Gerrit van Delden, Gronau, treasurer, and Heinrich Schneider, Karlsruhe, printer. The two conferences guaranteed to underwrite one half of the possible deficit (Vereinigung two sixths and Verband one sixth) while the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* assumed the other half. The Lexikon Committee became the official manager of the enterprise and publisher, but with no functions in the field of editorial control.

To aid them in the editorial work, the editors secured the assistance of a board of associate editors composed of the following scholars: *for Germany,* Pastor Lic. Theol. E. Händiges, Monsheim; Prof. Dr. B. H. Unruh, Karlsruhe; Dr. Horst Quiring, Stuttgart; Pastor Otto Schowalter, Hamburg; Pastor Gerhard Hein, Sembach; and Pastor E. Teufel, Stuttgart; *for Switzerland,* Elder Samuel Geiser, Brügg bei Biel; *for Holland,* Pastor N. van der Zijpp.

The Lexikon is to be completed under the following plan. The remaining nine instalments of Volume III will be published as rapidly as possible under the name of the original editors Hege and Neff, on the basis of the manuscripts left on hand by them. Hein and Teufel, with Crous, will prepare this material for the press. Then a supplementary volume will appear, to be prepared with the assistance of the associate editors, for which new articles and necessary revisions of the previously published articles will be prepared. The *Mennonite Encyclopedia* has agreed to make available its articles for translation into German for the supplementary volume. It is hoped that Volume III can be completed during the year of 1949, and Volume IV (Supplement) by 1954.

Fortunately a considerable surplus stock of the thirty-six already printed instalments of the *Lexikon* survived the hazards of war, and is now in the possession of the publishers, available for sale. The following minimum quantities are in stock: Volume I, 500 copies; Volume II, 1300 copies; Volume III, 1,000 copies, except for installment #36 of which only 360 copies are on hand. No bindings are available, the entire stock having been destroyed in the bombing of the bindery of Johannes Schneider in Karlsruhe. The sale price has been fixed at 2 Deutsche Mark per copy or 60 cents at the present rate of exchange. The same price is anticipated for the new instalments to be printed. Instalment #37 is now in press and should be available soon.

Thus, there is good reason for confidence that the original great interprise of an historical *Mennonite Encyclopedia* in the German language will be completed in the not too distant future, and that the new Mennonite Encyclopedia in English will have full advantage of the treasures of the German *Mennonitisches Lexikon.*

[*Harold S. Bender.*]

III. THE MENNONITE ENCYCLOPEDIA

For many years, American scholars in church history have felt the need of a comprehensive reference work on the Anabaptist-Mennonite movement written in English to correspond to the Ger-

man *Mennonitisches Lexikon* by Hege and Neff. The first concrete proposal for a publication such as this was made in a meeting of the Mennonite Research Fellowship, held in Bluffton, Ohio, August 23, 1945. As a result of these proposals, the Fellowship, composed of scholars in the field of Mennonite history, appointed a subcommittee comprised of C. Henry Smith, Harold S. Bender, Robert Friedmann, Cornelius Krahn, A. Warkentin, and John C. Wenger, who were authorized to prepare a tentative plan for an English Mennonite encyclopedia.

At the first meeting of the Committee, in Chicago, December 26, 1945, editors for the new publication were proposed. It was suggested that Harold S. Bender should serve as editor, C. Henry Smith as co-editor, and John C. Wenger as secretary. Proposals on the format, content, publication procedure, editor and writer selection, relation to the *Lexikon,* time schedule, and the initiation of the project were considered. It was suggested that the publication should be undertaken jointly by all Mennonite conference publication boards or houses desiring to co-operate and that the co-operating publishing houses should establish a publishing committee to supervise the project from the financial and printing end.

The project was then formally initiated by a call from the Fellowship committee for a meeting of representatives of interested Mennonite publishing houses, who met in Kansas City, February 16, 1946, at which time the proposals were explained to the representatives of the three boards who had sent delegates to the meeting. The first official meeting of the publication boards interested in the Encyclopedia was held in Kansas City, March 23, 1946, at which time a Publishing Committee was organized with Paul Erb, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, as chairman and H. J. Andres, Newton, Kansas, as secretary. With its formal organization, the Publishing Board took over the responsibility for the publication of the Mennonite Encyclopedia, thus ending the responsibility of the Mennonite Research Fellowship which had first suggested the project. In the March Publishing Board meeting, an Editorial Board of eight was appointed, with H. S. Bender and C. Henry Smith as editors. By 1948, the Editorial Board was comprised of the two editors and the following associate editors: Melvin Gingerich, Goshen, Indiana; P. C. Hiebert, Hillsboro, Kansas; C. F. Klassen, Winnipeg, Manitoba; Cornelius Krahn, North Newton, Kansas; S. F. Pannabecker, Chicago, Illinois; P. E. Schellenberg, Hillsboro, Kansas; and John C. Wenger, Goshen, Indiana. Melvin Gingerich had been appointed managing editor. An Edi-

torial Council consisting of 50 members from the Mennonite groups of North America, South America, and Canada was approved by the Publishing Committee. In addition, six members at large, from a list of church history and Reformation scholars, were appointed to the Editorial Council. These were Ernst Correll, Washington, D.C.; Elmer E. S. Johnson, Hereford, Pennsylvania; Roland H. Bainton, New Haven, Connecticut; Robert Friedmann, Kalamazoo, Michigan; Fritz Blanke, Zurich, Switzerland; and Franklin H. Littell, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

By the time of the May, 1946, meeting of the Committee, the publishing houses of the three largest branches of the church had decided to co-operate in the work. The Mennonite Publishing House of the Mennonite Church was represented by Paul Erb and A. J. Metzler, the Board of Publication of the General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America by H. J. Andres and J. M. Sudermann, and the Mennonite Brethren Publishing House by P. H. Berg and Orlando Harms. Later Bernhard Bargen replaced J. M. Sudermann. In the May meeting it was agreed that the Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, should print the Mennonite Encyclopedia. The agreement called for the printing of five thousand sets of three volumes each. These volumes were to total approximately 2,880 pages, trimmed to approximately $6\frac{1}{4}$ by $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches, with 8 point, 15 ems type set in two columns. Later the Mennonite Brethren Publishing House underwrote 500 sets of the Encyclopedia, the Board of Publication of the General Conference Mennonites 1,500 sets, and the Mennonite Publishing House at Scottdale 2,000 sets.

As the work was to be basically a translation and a revision of the German *Mennonitisches Lexikon,* with a great enlargement of the material relating to North American Mennonitism, it was necessary to obtain the permission of the German editors of the *Lexikon* for the privilege of using their production. In a trip to Europe in September, 1946, Harold S. Bender obtained the full American rights of the *Lexikon,* thus clearing the way for the launching of the English publication. One of the first tasks of the Board of Editors was to determine which articles in the German *Lexikon* could be used in substantially the form in which they were published. Elizabeth Horsch Bender was employed to translate these into English. Other important points of policy were early adopted by the Board of Editors. It was agreed that the Encyclopedia was to be scholarly rather than popular in character. The associate editors were empowered to suggest articles and writers

which the Board of Editors finally approved upon the recommendation of the two editors. All articles more than a few lines in length were to be signed by the writer's initials, with a key to the author's initials appearing in each volume. Mennonite doctrine, congregations, institutions, publications, organizations, settlements, leaders, conferences, practices, and family names as well as other categories were to be treated.

The Board of Editors has met three times, in August, 1946, April, 1947, and May, 1947, under the leadership of Chairman H. S. Bender, Vice-chairman C. Henry Smith, and Secretary John C. Wenger. In addition there have been meetings of the co-editors and subcommittees, as well as much correspondence among the members of the Board. The major part of the time of the Board meetings has been devoted to the study of an analysis of the contents of the *Lexikon,* to the consideration of new topics, and to the proposed list of writers. The Encyclopedia office was set up in the library of Goshen College, in January, 1947. John A. Hostetler has since that date been employed as editorial assistant, his work having consisted of preparing an analysis of the *Lexikon,* preparing lists of topics to be included in the Encyclopedia, and of the mailing of assignments and the receipt and filing of articles.

By November, 1948, the work on Volume I, A-F, was well under way, with all of the major assignments having been made and many of the shorter articles having been written. The death of Dr. C. Henry Smith, co-editor, on October 18, 1948, was a severe blow to the project. It should be said to the credit of Dr. Smith that previous to the time of his last illness he had submitted more articles to Volume I than any other writer, having almost completed his assignments for the first volume. It is planned to send Volume I to the printers in 1949, Volume II in 1950, and Volume III, in 1951. [*Melvin Gingerich.*]

IV. MENNONITE LIFE

The first issue of *Mennonite Life* was dated January, 1946. Two issues appeared that year. Since 1947, it has been a quarterly, with the tenth number appearing in October, 1948. A semi-popular, excellently illustrated magazine, it is published under the auspices of Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas, "in the interest of the best in the religious, social, and economic phases of Mennonite culture."

Although it is published by Bethel College and edited by Dr. Cornelius Krahn of the Bethel faculty, several of the associate editors are from other institutions. Dr. C. Henry Smith of Bluffton

College served as an associate editor up to the time of his death as did also Dr. A. Warkentin of the Mennonite Biblical Seminary. President S. F. Pannabecker of the Seminary has been named to succeed Dr. Warkentin as associate editor. The remaining associate editors are Dr. Melvin Gingerich of the Mennonite Research Foundation and Dr. J. Winfield Fretz of Bethel College. John F. Schmidt serves as assistant to the editor. The July, 1948, issue contains a list of over one hundred contributing editors, all of whom have either contributed articles or have promised to contribute articles. These contributors are from nearly all the branches of the church in the Americas and in Europe.

One is not surprised, therefore, to learn that many phases of Mennonite life have been treated by these contributors nor that this magazine has a world-wide coverage of Mennonite news and interests. Articles on the Mennonites in Paraguay, Brazil, Mexico, Holland, Russia, and other countries have appeared. A recent issue summarized a century of Dutch Mennonite missions in the East Indies. Among the twenty articles in the October, 1948, issue were these: "Mennonites and Education," "A Pioneer Educator—Johann Cornies," "My Recollection of P. M. Friesen," "Grandmother's Quilt," "Home-Crafts in Our Day," "A United Mennonite Witness," and "Beginnings of Higher Education in Kansas." This particular number featured Mennonite education; the previous issue had featured Menno Simons and the Dutch Mennonites.

A forty-eight page magazine, 8½ by 11 inches, it is printed on high grade glossy paper. In 1948, 4500 copies of each issue were printed; the subscription price is $2.00 per year. Featuring many full-page and half-page pictures of outstanding quality (there were sixty pictures in the October, 1948, issue), the quarterly appeals to a wide range of readers, many of whom perhaps without the inspiration of this attractive publication would never have developed an interest in Mennonite history and life. Dr. Krahn, the editor, was born in Russia and educated in that country, Holland, Germany, and the United States. He, therefore has had wide contacts with the Mennonites of four countries, which along with his training in Mennonite history well qualifies him for his position. Much of the credit for his splendid publication should be given to President Ed. G. Kaufman of Bethel College, who for some years previous to the appearance of *Mennonite Life* had envisioned a magazine such as this publication has come to be. [*Melvin Gingerich.*]

V. THE MENNONITE COMMUNITY

By the end of 1948, eighteen numbers of *The Mennonite Community* had been issued. The magazine then two years old had been a bi-monthly in 1947 but became a monthly a year later with the January, 1948, issue. It is published by the Mennonite Community Association, a private organization comprised of over one hundred Mennonites, members of the (Old) Mennonite Church, who had each contributed fifty dollars or more to the Association. A board of seven directors elected from the membership of the Association, with Paul Erb, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, serving as president and Guy F. Hershberger, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana, serving as secretary, manages the publication of the magazine.

The editorial and business offices are located in Scottdale, Pennsylvania, where the magazine is published under the direction of editor Grant M. Stoltzfus. Associate editors are Paul Erb of the Mennonite Publishing House and Dr. Guy F. Hershberger and Dr. Olive Wyse of the Goshen College faculty. An editorial council of twenty-three, comprised of individuals from various occupations and professions and from the various areas of the Mennonite Church, gives its recommendations from time to time.

An illustrated magazine somewhat similar to *Mennonite Life*, the paper was planned at the same time that the Bethel College publication was coming into existence, and so although the two appeared at about the same time, *Mennonite Life* in 1946 and *The Mennonite Community* in 1947, neither one was conceived to be nor launched as a competitor of the other, and each fulfills a distinct function. *The Mennonite Community* has the more specialized function of the two, and it serves primarily the branch of the church which is sponsoring it.

Believing that sound community life is a prerequisite for successful and enduring Mennonite churches, the editors of *The Mennonite Community* present articles dealing with those factors that build or destroy desirable Christian home and community life. In an attempt to defeat the forces of secularism and materialism that are prevalent in American society, the magazine emphasizes the truth that Christianity must pervade all phases of the economic, social, educational, and cultural life of the Christian community if an effective Christian witness is to be given. Much attention, therefore, is given to those Mennonite communities which have developed institutions, practices, and philosophies, resulting in stable church and home life. The October, 1948, number, featuring Christian vocations, had among its twelve articles the following: "I Choose a

Vocation," "Serving in Full-Time Church Work," "Farming in a Changing World," "The Challenge of the Nurse," "Opportunities for Service in Medicine," "The Vocation of the Salesman," and "Printing as a Vocation."

Each issue contains thirty-six pages of glossy paper, nine by twelve. In addition to the front cover, which is usually a photograph featuring a Mennonite community or some phase of rural life, several full-page pictures and many smaller ones are carried in each issue. These are nearly all produced by the staff photographers who have traveled thousands of miles touring Mennonite communities to obtain the excellent photographs illustrating the articles appearing in the magazine. Over 6,000 copies of each issue were being printed in 1948. The subscription price is $2.50 per year. [*Melvin Gingerich.*]

VI. THE MENNONITE RESEARCH FOUNDATION

In March, 1946, the executive committee of the Mennonite Board of Education appointed a study committee to consider the possibility of establishing a research center. A year later, in February, 1947, the Board of Education in its annual meeting adopted the recommendation of the study committee that "the Mennonite Board of Education sponsor and provide for an organization for Mennonite research with headquarters at Goshen College." A committee of seven members appointed by the Board to prepare a plan of organization met in March, elected officers, approved a budget, and decided upon the scope of work of the research agency. On April 17, 1947, the committee of seven, now known as the Board of Directors, met again, at which time they adopted a charter, elected a director of research, and approved three research projects. The work of the Research Foundation began September 1, 1947, when its office was opened at 1613 South Eighth Street, Goshen, Indiana. The Foundation elected Dr. Melvin Gingerich to the office of Director of Research. Dr. Gingerich, author of *The Mennonites in Iowa,* received his degree in the field of American history from the University of Iowa in 1938. From 1941 to 1947 he taught history in Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas. For some time he has served as associate editor of three Mennonite publications, *The Mennonite Quarterly Review, Mennonite Life,* and the *Mennonite Historical Bulletin.* He is also an associate editor and the managing editor of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia.*

The charter states that the "Mennonite Research Foundation is a semiautonomous, chartered agency under the Mennonite Board

of Education serving the research needs of the Mennonite Church as a whole." The Foundation has the power "to conduct research through its own organization either on its own initiative or at the request of other agencies" or it may "aid and co-ordinate research carried on by other agencies as may be requested and needful." All projects and activities to be undertaken by the Foundation must first be approved by the Board of Directors.

For eight months during the first year of the Foundation's history, the Director of Research was loaned to the Mennonite Central Committee, during which time he did the research and writing for a book on the history of Mennonite Civilian Public Service. With the help of his assistant during the first year, materials were gathered for a book on the history of the Mennonite Church during World War II. Stories and biographies were colected for a young people's book on heroes of nonresistance. A study of Mennonite income was made to determine whether the budgets for the expanding activities of the church had been properly estimated in the light of the financial resources of the church.

Dozens of topics for research have been suggested. The Board of Directors annually selects the more urgent as projects for the year. In August, 1948, four new ones were approved. The first is the preparation of a pamphlet on noncombatant military service. A second one is the compilation of a list of Mennonite conscientious objectors in World War I and the collection of the camp experience records of each. The third project approved was a study of Mennonite relief experiences at the close of World War I in Europe and the Near East. A study of Mennonite family size and Mennonite occupations was the fourth one selected. Other topics are being considered and will be approved from time to time.

The Board of Directors are Paul Erb, chairman, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, formerly Professor of English at Goshen College and now editor of the *Gospel Herald;* Dr. E. E. Miller, vice-chairman, formerly missionary to India and now president of Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana; A. J. Metzler, treasurer, publishing agent of the Mennonite Publishing House, Scottdale, Pennsylvania; Dr. H. S. Bender, executive secretary, Goshen, Indiana, dean of the Goshen College Biblical Seminary and editor of THE MENNONITE QUARTERLY REVIEW; Milo Kauffman, president of Hesston College, Hesston, Kansas; J. L. Stauffer, president of Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Virginia; and Dr. S. C. Yoder, professor of Bible, Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana, and formerly president of Goshen College. [*Melvin Gingerich.*]

BOOK REVIEWS

The Faith of Our Fathers on Eschatology. By Ira D. Landis, Published by the Author, Lititz, Pennsylvania, 1946. Pp. xvi & 423. $2.25.

Human beings have always been curious about the future of their lives, about the future of their nation, and about the future course of history. It is an accepted article of faith among evangelical Christians that the Scriptures contain predictive prophecy even though the central function of a prophet was to bring to bear upon his contemporaries the revealed will of God. As spokesmen for God the Old Testament prophets interpreted the Law, they preached holiness and love, they gave individual and national guidance, and they kept alive the Messianic hope by speaking much of the coming of Israel's Saviour and King. Old Testament prophecy does contain a vast body of truth about the Christ, both in His humiliation and in His glory. Indeed the great message of the whole Word of God centers in Jesus Christ. The New Testament writers provide for us a final interpretation of the Old Testament Scriptures, and they supplement the predictive prophecy of the Old Testament writers. The greatest Prophet of all was Christ Himself, for the words that He spoke were not merely His own; they were the commandment of His Father, according to His own testimony. One cannot believe in the complete authority of Scripture and delete predictive prophecy from it. The hope of the Return of Christ is a living reality to the Church and it has a sanctifying effect upon individual believers. It gives courage to those who feel that the anti-Christian forces of evil are about to overwhelm their land and culture and sweep all to destruction.

It is not only wrong, however, to neglect the prophetic (predictive) content of Scripture. It is also a grave error to add to the revealed truth by laboring to produce a detailed program for Christ to follow when He appears a second time in glory. The Bible nowhere provides an elaborate outline of the future course of history, giving summaries ("history written beforehand") of the several nations of the world, much less of what shall transpire in God's program following the Revelation of the Lord. But many earnest Bible students with all good intentions have in their enthusiasm sought to describe such a system of future events, calling their charts and programs "prophetic truth," their sincere conviction being that the Scripture does contain data which make clear God's program for the future if one can but unlock this word of prophecy by means of the keys provided by prophetic scholars.

The author of our book is one who having been reared in the home of a Mennonite elder (bishop) received from his earliest childhood a strict indoctrination in the "faith of our fathers." This meant for him that the Scripture teaches one great Day of Christ when the Lord shall suddenly be revealed from heaven to raise all the dead and to hold a universal judgment for all who ever lived, both the dead and the living, after which all men shall enter into the eternal state, either heaven or hell. That is, the author accepted from his father and his church what is today called the Amillennial view of prophecy. Later he examined by correspondence study a point of view which he ultimately rejected with vigor and which he is seeking to refute in the present volume. The correspondence course taught a Fundamentalist dispensationalism, a theology which is rather widely held in "Bible churches" and Bible institutes, and which is an influential point of view in American Christendom, especially in those

sectors of the church which reject the liberalism of the day. Ira D. Landis is a hard-working farmer, an active Mennonite minister, and an indefatigable private scholar. He has the advantage also of having secured a college degree.

The author sets out to demonstrate that the historic faith of the Mennonite Church has not been dispensational in the sense taught by C. I. Scofield, and has been non-millennial. He then continues with the bulk of the book which seeks to show from Scripture also that the amillennial view in the true one. Chapter I, which is the historical survey, and which covers twenty-seven pages, is an excellent summary of information with which the average Mennonite minister is perhaps not too conversant. The author quotes the text of the eschatological portions of a large number of creeds, the so-called apostle's creed of the second century, the Niceno-Constantinopolitan of 381, the Athanasian, then those of the Reformed churches of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and finally several Mennonite confessions of faith. He also quotes at length such leaders as Menno Simons, Dietrich Philips, P. J. Twisck, Henrich (sic!) Funck, and Daniel Kauffman. All in all one may say that he has tabulated for convenient reference a useful collection of doctrinal statements on eschatology. The remainder of the book is a closely-knit argument for the faith of the Mennonite fathers in eschatology, that is, the non-millennial position. Readers will undoubtedly differ in their evaluation of the exposition depending somewhat upon how it agrees or fails to agree with their own views. The present writer feels that the book constitutes a substantial contribution to the theological literature of the Mennonite Church and desires to commend it to the ministers for their study, particularly Mennonite ministers. It is to be hoped that whatever occasional weakness of style or harshness of spirit are evident in the volume may not blind the reader to the thorough and independent scholarship of the work. The author has not been content to make pious references to the fathers; he has earnestly sought to base his eschatology on a careful exegesis of the pertinent passages of the Word of God. It is evident that a vast amount of reading and meditation are reflected in this book. The author tells us that one of the chapters was completed as long ago as 1934. The reviewer regrets the occasional choice of words in dealing with authors and views which are in disagreement with his own. He speaks for example of the "heinousness of chiliasm" (p. 15n), and of puncturing "the Premillennial balloon" (p. 393), expressions which are apt to antagonize sincere adherents of the views he is seeking to refute by careful scholarship.

The reviewer would welcome a book or booklet by a careful and judicious adherent of the premillennial view giving an exposition of that view which is held by many ministers in the brotherhood, and carefully distinguishing it from the objectionable dispensationalism of much current fundamentalism. Let us hope that when such a volume is written it may reflect an irenic spirit.

Goshen College Biblical Seminary J. C. Wenger